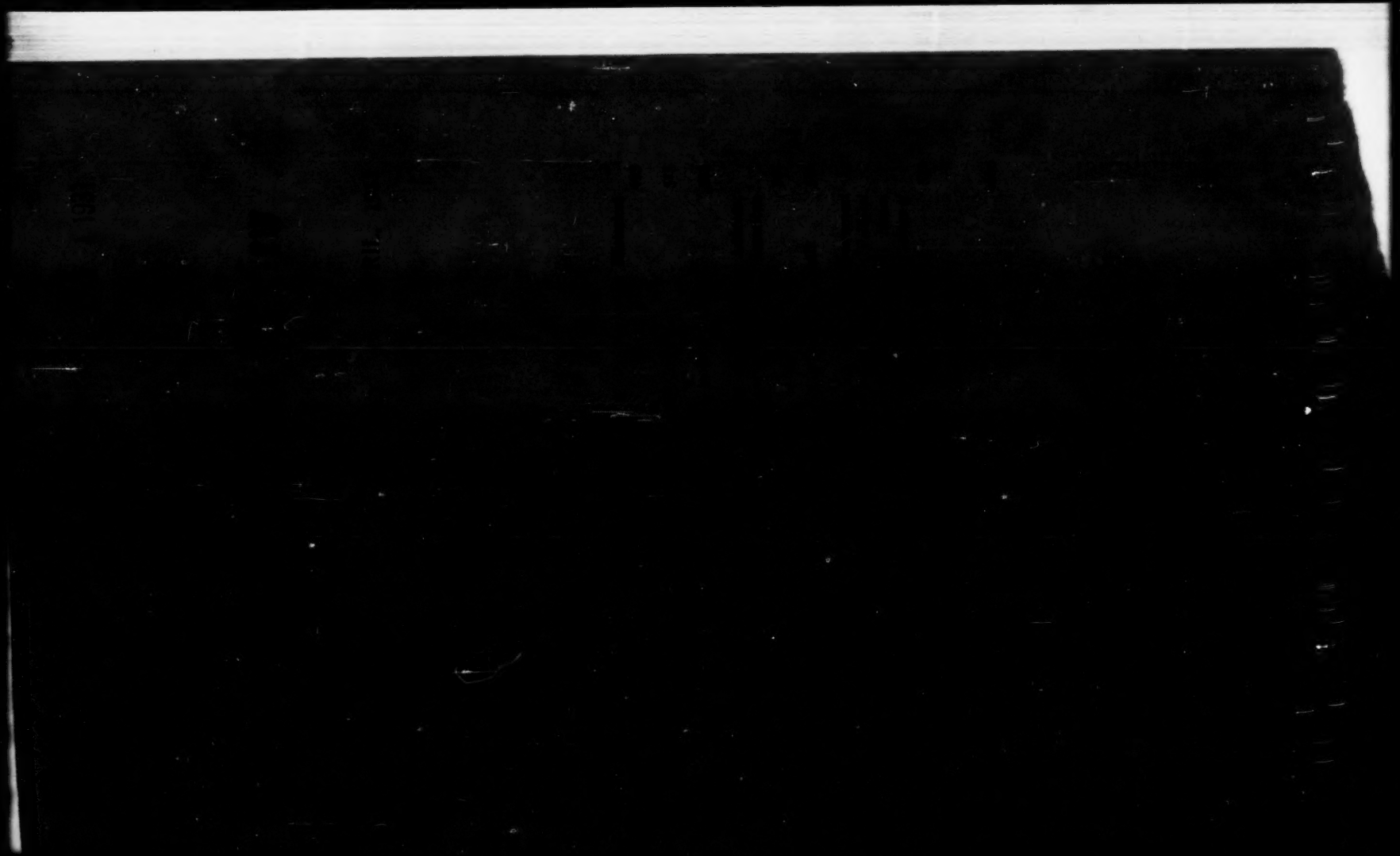

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The American Historical Review

BOSTON MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

IT was peculiarly fitting, as Professor Evarts B. Greene said in his Presidential Address, that the members of the American Historical Association should assemble in Boston to "join their Massachusetts friends in celebrating the foundation of the old Bay Commonwealth". The meeting filled the last three days of the Tercentenary Year. Professor Greene paid the occasion the further compliment of choosing for his subject the early Massachusetts experiment in church and state and of tracing the later developments of this fundamental problem in America and in Europe.

Meeting concurrently were six other historical bodies: the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the American Catholic Historical Association, the American Society of Church History, the Agricultural History Society, the Conference of Historical Societies, and the National Council for Social Studies. To the list might be added the Business Historical Society, for a joint session with this young but vigorous organization was held at the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School.

The hospitalities extended to the Association were so generous that those who attended the Forty-fifth Annual Meeting will listen with skepticism to tales of the decline of New England. These hospitalities included luncheons at Harvard and Boston universities, a tea at Radcliffe College, and a reception at the gorgeous Fenway Court by the Trustees of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. But the unique event was the Annual Dinner, for there the hosts were the historical societies of the Bay Colony—the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the American Antiquarian Society, and the Essex Institute. The Committee on Local Arrangements also acted as hosts. The great Ball Room of the Copley Plaza Hotel was filled to capacity. It was a happy feature that the Presidential Address was the speech of the occasion.

The program prepared by Professor Ralph H. Gabriel and his colleagues abounded in interesting topics, so much so that this was a common remark in the lobby of the hotel. The eager searcher for impressions of what is being done in different fields might be pardoned for a state of bewildered indecision when confronted by so many simultaneous sessions. Even a multiple personality would be unequal to the occasion. In spite of such intense rivalry of appeal nearly all the sessions were crowded. In most cases the tickets for the luncheon conferences were sold out long before the hour. Part of this congestion was due to the large attendance—820, or 200 more than at any previous meeting. There was a good representation even from regions west of the Mississippi and south of Mason and Dixon's Line.

It was natural that the principal amount of attention on the program should be assigned to American history. This field was discussed in six sessions. Modern European history had four if the sessions on Europe in Africa, the Far East, as well as that which dealt with the Reformation should be counted. The echoes of the controversy over the origins of the late war did not resound through the halls of meeting as has often been the case in post-war programs.

The experiment tried at two previous meetings of devoting a session to a single subject and having the paper printed in advance for the purposes of discussion was not attempted at Boston in the same form. There were two sessions each with a single historical theme: one on the French Revolution, another in memory of Simón Bolívar. At the first, under the caption of the French Revolution, Conspiracy or Circumstance, Louis R. Gottschalk, of the University of Chicago, presented a masterly sketch of the history of the school of hostile criticism in France, beginning with Taine and ending with Pierre Gaxotte. He held that Taine carried too many fixed preconceptions into his search for evidence on the causes of the Revolution. The principal of these was his notion of the classical spirit. Professor Gottschalk also dealt with the work of Augustin Cochin and touched on the immense sales of the books of Pierre Gaxotte. His paper was followed by a brief but lively discussion in which Professor Crane Brinton and others took part. At the second session, held at the same hour, the qualities of Simón Bolívar as a general and a statesman were described and eulogized by J. B. Lockey, of the University of California at Los Angeles, and Alfred Hasbrouck, of Lake Forest College. The discussion was led by A. P. Whitaker, of Cornell University. Professor Lockey showed that Bolívar's reputation as a leader had grown with time. Professor

Hasbrouck discussed especially Bolívar's abilities as a general, pointing out how experience corrected his earlier errors.

Two sessions at Boston were concerned with the problem of productive scholarship. One dealt with it from the point of view of the Young Scholar, the other under the head of Opportunities for more Effective Research in the Colleges. Upon the latter problem the Association has for several years had a committee of which Bertha H. Putnam, of Mount Holyoke College, who took part in the discussion, is a member. Professor Putnam first discussed the unsatisfactory system with respect to the Master's degree, whether true of the small college with inadequate equipment or of certain large universities practicing "mass production". She held that some of the smaller colleges should be prohibited from giving even the Bachelor's degree and should be classed as Junior colleges. Other small colleges, with better equipment, should be encouraged to offer the Master's degree, but they should be enabled to relieve instructors especially suited to this work of part of their teaching and administrative load. Professor W. C. Binkley, of Vanderbilt University, alluded to the same situation confronting the ambitious teacher. He also remarked that library facilities are often utterly inadequate. Professor W. K. Boyd, of Duke University, dealt with the question of Research in American History.

At the session devoted specifically to the Problems of the Young Scholar, Dumas Malone, of the Dictionary of American Biography, touched upon a similar dilemma. The newly appointed teacher, said Dr. Malone, finds the task of keeping up with classes in wide fields of study somewhat breathless, leaving him little time for research, although made well aware of the fact that promotions, salary increases, and calls depend upon publication. Often it is a call that leads to the other two. This session, however, emphasized such dilemmas less and marked out more carefully what the young scholar needed to do for his own sound development. Dixon R. Fox, of Columbia University, who led the discussion, believed that it was well that doctoral theses should be published, for publication is an important stimulus to the young scholar. Dr. Malone thought too many immature works of this type were being published, although he said emphatically that the young scholar should constantly write. He also felt that one of the defects of the oral examination for the doctorate was that it gave the candidate no adequate opportunity to express himself clearly and fully. He suggested that a much longer written examination would serve the purpose better. Both Dr. Malone and Professor Fox urged that the young scholar should broaden his intellectual contacts; he should not narrow himself down within

the walls of a particular lane of study. Professor Fox said it would be well for him especially to cultivate his interest in poetry. The second paper, by C. R. Fish, of the University of Wisconsin, dealt more with the preparation of the candidate for the degree. Professor Fish said it would be well for the graduate student to spend part of his time of study at different universities. The only disadvantage might be that in obtaining a position he would not gain the warm support of any one faculty. He also felt that the candidate should diversify his research, trying his hand at a variety of projects. In the end, however, he should be able to discern a definite goal, and not wander haphazard through the historical field.

Two sessions and a luncheon were given to the Social Studies. The National Council for Social Studies also held a joint session with the New England History Teachers' Association. First came a College and Teachers College section where Mark M. Heald, of Rutgers University, reported his findings on the development of Orientation Courses. He pointed out that after the World War, in the period of experimentation, the aim was chiefly to give students a better preparation for coping with the problems of contemporary life. Increasing skepticism, however, began to be felt as to the value of such projects, so that the more recent courses have sought to clarify the origins of modern civilization and to prepare the student for his later work in college. Professor Heald was followed by C. E. Hedrick, of Marshall College, and D. D. McBrien, of State Teachers College, Conway, Arkansas, who emphasized the need in many teachers colleges of more adequate equipment. At the luncheon conference, Professor William E. Dodd described Nationalism as the Besetting Sin of Historians. After characterizing the attitude of Gibbon, Ranke, Bancroft, Rhodes, and Beveridge, Mr. Dodd asked if "nationalism or adherence to some cult or interest personal to the scholar . . . is a sin beyond remedy". Happily he saw promise of better things. After the luncheon came the session at which the work of the Commission on the Social Studies was presented. T. L. Kelley, of Harvard University, discussed the Function of the New Type Tests in the Investigation of the Social Studies. Guy Stanton Ford, of the University of Minnesota, then summarized and discussed the investigations of the Commission during its two years of existence. He called attention to the fact that the investigation was now fully organized into its five committees: Objectives, Charles A. Beard, chairman; Tests, W. F. Ballou, chairman; Public Relations, J. H. Newlon, chairman; the Teacher, W. C. Bagley, chairman; Organization of Content and Methods of Instruction, R. M. Tryon, chairman. At the joint session with the New England History

Teachers' Association, Professor J. M. Gambrill, of Columbia University, described a New Approach to the Modern Problems Course. The discussion was led by Mr. Horace Kidger, of the Newton High School.

To give some impression of the contributions made to the study of so many fields it will be convenient to follow the chronological order and to turn first to Ancient history. At this session the progress of excavations at Doura and at Karanis was described by A. R. Bellinger, of Yale University, and A. E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan. Dr. Bellinger said that the report of the second season at Doura was in press and that a third report was in preparation. It may be added that the first report was reviewed here a year ago (XXXV. 318). Professor Boak, who stated briefly in the October number (XXXVI. 221) what had been done at Karanis up to that time, explained that seven levels have now been identified, and that the chronological difficulties will probably be solved during the present season. One of the most interesting facts which he brought out was the general plan of the private houses. They were four stories in height, built of sundried brick, with stone trimmings at exposed points. Wall paintings, in the style of the well-known Fayum portraits, often depict Egyptian deities. Pure Greek decorative *motifs* are found in the ornamental shrine niches which adorn some of the larger rooms. Of particular interest are the granaries, one of which contained two stories of vaulted bins grouped around a central court and often subdivided into two or more chambers. The third paper, by C. J. Kraemer, jr., of New York University, discussed the Greek Element in Egyptian Dancing. Professor Kraemer said that the entertainers at the village festivals, which were survivals of the Pharaonic period, were professional artists living commonly in the larger cities. The accompanying orchestra was composed of clarinet, harp, lute, and drum. Clappers used like the Greek *crotala* to accentuate the rythm frequently also formed part of the orchestra.

Two sessions were given to the Middle Ages. At the first, the general subject was Feudalism and Serfdom. The Eclipse of Feudal Military Service in England was discussed by A. E. Prince, of Queen's University. Professor Prince said it was the introduction of money payments which was chiefly responsible for the decay of feudal service. After 1334 all, including the earls, drew the king's pay. A system of indentures became common, by which a leader contracted with the king for a definite contingent in return for compensation of different kinds, bonuses, ransom of prisoners, etc. This was not without dangers as the Wars of the Roses were to show. Kings who required paid soldiers had to find the money, and S. K.

Mitchell, of Yale University, described how the monarchs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries sought to expand the tallage as a means of revenue. The obstacles, said Professor Mitchell, were the customary law and the courts. Fortunately the law which prevented an increase at least assured the payment of the usual amount. The final paper dealt with another movement hostile to feudalism, the rise of the towns. In this paper Professor Carl Stephenson, of Cornell University, reviewed the discussion of the influence of the Continental communal movement on the rise of the English towns.

The second session of the medievalists was concerned with the problem of a Prospectus for a Corpus of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin, which was proposed by Professor Lynn Thorndike, of Columbia University, in *Isis* for October. The chief question raised in that article was whether the time had not come to launch a repository for the voluminous medieval writings in Latin on natural science comparable to such collections as Migne's *Patrologia*, the *Acta Sanctorum*, and the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. In the discussion, in which Dr. George Sarton, Professor James Westfall Thompson, and others participated, differences arose upon the extent of the explanatory introductions and notes and upon the inclusion in the collection of Latin translations from works in Hebrew and Arabic.

The Reformation was the principal subject of the joint session of the Association and the American Society of Church History. Albert Hyma, of the University of Michigan, rendered a useful service in defining the terms suggested by the words of his topic, Protestant Revolt or Reformation. The older term was long used and is still used abroad, because it testified to the demand for reform long before the break came. But whatever its original meaning, urged Professor Hyma, it is now a technical term as nonpartisan as "Gothic architecture". He said it was chiefly American scholars who employed the term "Revolt". This term indicates essential characteristics of the movement and yet introduces an element of confusion in nomenclature. Another speaker, Hastings Eells, of Ohio Wesleyan University, described the career of Martin Bucer, which has not received its measure of attention. Dr. Eells is the author of a biography of Bucer now in press. A third paper, on Harnack as a Church Historian, was read by Professor G. W. Richards, of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church.

A session which looked to the future as well as the past, and which pointed the way for younger scholars in English history, was a Survey of the Most Important Tasks still to be Completed. Conyers Read, of Philadelphia, dealt with the Tudor period, E. A. Beller, of Princeton, with that of the Stuarts, and W. T. Laprade, of Duke

University, with the Eighteenth Century. Dr. Read laid particular stress upon the comparatively neglected judicial and fiscal records, hinting at the richness of their contents. He also explained how desirable it was to make a more careful canvass of manuscript collections in private hands. Professor Beller felt that the most important task for his period was a history of England which should take up the narrative where Gardiner left off, in 1659, and carry it to 1685, where Macaulay began. But there were other tasks not so comprehensive, tasks which could be undertaken by the monographist or by the biographer. For example, the Household and Court of the Stuarts still lacks an historian. This is equally true of the treasury, the navy during the civil wars, and the merchant marine for the whole period. In the history of foreign relations there is much to be done, particularly in regard to relations with Spain, Portugal, and the Levant. To facilitate such work the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign,* should be completed, and the transcripts of the dispatches of foreign ambassadors should be published. Among the letters which await the editor are those of John Chamberlain, the news-letter writer *par excellence*. These are in the Public Record Office, and transcripts are in the British Museum. Professor Beller mentioned among the personages whose biographies should be written, George Monck, Sir William Temple, and Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford. Professor Laprade urged that we commonly misunderstand the eighteenth century because we submissively accept the nineteenth century conception of it, and he proceeded to trace the literary history of the traditional view. One illustration, he said, was the emphasis placed upon the Industrial Revolution as a cause when it was primarily a consequence, and the real forces at work were the pressure of demand and the expansion of trade. Another is to be found in a low opinion of the influence of the Church. Professor Laprade declared that at no time were the political leaders "strong enough to cope with the clergy as an organized, articulate group", because the attachment of the people to the political system was never "comparable to their deepseated loyalty to the Church". Accordingly the Church had to be disarmed or won through patronage. In that way the leaders "gradually captured the ecclesiastical organization and bequeathed it as a political asset to George III. and his ministers". Among the sources for the study of the period which are too much neglected Professor Laprade emphasized newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets. In a sense, he said, they were not so much sources as weapons. There is no good history of the eighteenth century press. He also emphasized the need of local studies, especially of London. Toward the close of his paper he dealt with spe-

cific projects for monographs or biographies. He was surprised that no one had attempted to interpret the life of even so important a personage as the Duke of Newcastle.

One can not reflect upon what was said at this session without the feeling that it would be a great advantage if such surveys were made the subject of an all-day "Round Table" discussion, interrupted only by a short luncheon period, and if the conclusions could then be widely circulated among producing scholars interested in the particular field. The annual meetings of the Association could thus become steps in a progressive program of work.

There is no phase of recent European history which would more reward study than the character of colonial administration. This gave peculiar interest to the session on Europe in Africa. Because of the centenary of the conquest of Algiers it was appropriate that the session should begin with a sketch of the Colonial Development in North Africa from 1830 to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century. This was given by Mr. G. F. Andrews, of Cambridge. The next two papers dealt with British problems in Nigeria and East Africa. A. N. Cook, of Temple University, held up the work of the English in Nigeria as an example of successful colonial control and development. The English principle was indirect rule, with constant increase in the administrative responsibilities of the native ruler. From the economic point of view their plan was to preserve the native tenure of land, rejecting the plantation and concessionaire systems. They so successfully encouraged the native to raise a surplus for export that imports to Nigeria amounted roughly to ten times more European goods per capita than regions exploited under the contrasting systems. In dealing with East Africa it was the aim of A. P. Scott, of the University of Chicago, to show how important a field of study Kenya colony was. Professor Scott explained the difficult task of adjusting the interests and rights of the white population on the high plateau with those of the native. The immigrant from India also complicates the question. The closing paper, by H. R. Rudin, of Yale University, was an illuminating presentation of the rôle of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* in the exploitation of the Cameroons, and presumably in the affairs of other German colonies. This society, founded in 1882, numbered 30,000 in 1900, and even had a few branches in the United States. One who listened to Dr. Rudin's paper gained the impression not only that its directors knew what they wanted, but were remarkably aggressive and intelligent in their effort to further the development of the colony. They worked to get officials who were trained in tropical agriculture and in native languages. They sought for new plants that could be

profitably raised. In all this there was not a hint of the sort of oppression and incompetence that the Allies alleged as a pretext for the wholesale seizure of the German colonies.

The recent events in the Far East or the Pacific area furnished themes for another session. W. J. Hail, of the College of Wooster, instituted comparisons between the Twentieth-Century Chinese Nationalist Movement and the Taiping Rebellion. The essential difference, Professor Hail said, lay in the fact that the Taiping Rebellion had no general support in public opinion, while the present republican movement, based on the teachings of Sun Yat-sen, possesses an ideal which appeals to the nation. Contacts with the West have also stimulated the desire for change. G. H. Blakeslee, of Clark University, described Japanese Foreign Policy. Its impelling motive Professor Blakeslee saw in a large and rapidly growing population. Either more colonial territory must be found or more occupation at home. This points to the determination on the one hand to hold all that the Japanese have gained in Manchuria, and on the other to acquire in China a market for Japanese manufactures. The two aims are partly in conflict, for the Chinese market can not be held without Chinese good will and the Chinese good will is chilled, if not destroyed, by Japanese domination in Manchuria. What might be called by comparison a minor problem of colonization was discussed by the last speaker, G. H. Ryden, of the University of Delaware. This was the rôle of the United States in Samoa.

It was appropriate that a meeting in Boston should devote a session to New England in the Eighteenth Century. Viola F. Barnes, of Mount Holyoke College, contributed a paper on New England and the Merchants of Nova Scotia, 1773–1776, in which she advanced the idea that the hope entertained by the merchants of capturing the West India trade was the principal influence in checking the spread of the colonial spirit of radicalism and revolt. M. W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, discussed New England Leaders and the Movement for Independence. He produced evidence to show that some historians must "modify their broad generalizations to the effect that there was no appreciable desire for complete independence before April 1775". He argued that statements in confidential letters should have more weight than public disclaimers suggested either by fear of prosecution or a desire not to forewarn the British government. He felt certain that Samuel Adams worked steadily for the idea of independence. The case was not so clear with John Adams, but Professor Jernegan also ranged him with the leaders of the independence movement. Richard B. Morris, of the College of the City of New York, with Legalism versus Revolutionary Doctrine in New

England as his theme, sought to explain why the very men who championed the cause of political independence should later have been largely responsible for bringing America into subjection to the reactionary legal system prevailing in England in the eighteenth century. Part of the explanation is found in the fact that the common law served them as a bulwark against acts of arbitrary power. Often the merchants were their clients. After the Revolution was over and the struggle between creditor and debtor began, the merchants were again their clients and the same legal system served as a dike against a democratic tide dangerous to the rights of property. With this system persisted unjust technicalities of procedure and unenlightened rules of action. The discussion was led by Verner W. Crane, of the University of Michigan.

In the session on Organized Religion in American Life, three of the papers were concerned with the problems of slavery and the churches. This is less true of the paper of Professor G. H. Barnes, of Ohio Wesleyan University, which explained the Sources of the Anti-Slavery Movement in the Great Revival, showing that through Finney's preaching the two Tappans, Arthur and Lewis, received the impulse which led to the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The completion of the organization awaited the announcement of the act of Parliament abolishing slavery throughout the British Empire. T. M. Whitfield, of Western Maryland College, dealt with Southern Methodism and Slavery, and the leader of the discussion was Walter B. Posey, of Birmingham-Southern College, who had treated the same subject last spring at the Chattanooga meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Both agreed upon the influence of the economic factor in the change of Southern Methodist sentiment. Professor Whitfield carried his treatment as far as the organization of the Methodist Church South in 1846. According to L. G. Vander Velde, of the University of Michigan, whose subject was the Old School Presbyterian Church and the Crisis of 1861, that strong church long preserved its unity by an equivocal stand on the slavery issue. After Sumter was fired upon the dilemma had to be faced. It was impossible to satisfy both the radical West and the secessionist South. The decisive act was the endorsement by the General Assembly in May, 1861, of the Spring resolutions supporting the Union. The consequence was the organization of the Southern Presbyterian Church, although for a time the border state synods did not break away. The final paper, by H. U. Faulkner, of Smith College, essayed to discover threads leading through the maze of religious phenomena in the last two decades. The title of his paper was Some Tendencies in American Christian-

ity since 1900. He found at first a movement toward unification and more liberal attitudes, or modernism, but he noted that later the older theology rallied its forces and inflicted a decided check upon the modernists. He expressed the conviction that American Christianity had now entered upon the most critical period of its history.

A session on American Maritime history was also appropriate to the atmosphere of Boston and Salem, but it was two rivals of Boston, Norfolk and New York, that were celebrated in the papers of T. J. Wertenbaker and R. G. Albion, both of Princeton University. Professor Wertenbaker showed how notable was the rôle of Norfolk in the West India trade. He remarked incidentally that at the opening of the Revolutionary struggle their financial interests inclined them to the Tory side, and that it was the Patriots and not the British who burned Norfolk. Professor Albion dealt with New York and its Disgruntled Rivals, 1815–1860, much to the disadvantage of the latter. He attributed New York's rapid success not wholly to the possession of an unrivaled harbor, but to the foresight and energy of a remarkable group of men. It was a later phase of American maritime history to which Mr. R. E. Peabody, of the Essex Institute, next called attention, the development of the merchant marine since 1914. He pointed out that in considering American tonnage, account must be taken of the shipping on the Great Lakes and of the coastwise service. But he declared also that America was making progress in overseas shipping.

A session was given to Southern history, and the special theme was New Viewpoints. W. E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, spoke on The Bacon Rebellion: its Causes and Consequences. Professor Dodd described vividly the situation that led to the uprising, showing that the British Navigation laws cut off direct access through Dutch carriers to the Continental market and reduced profits of the tobacco growers to a vanishing point. Rebellion was the natural consequence. Its failure forced the planters to resort to the cheaper labor of negro slaves, and so became directly responsible for a characteristic feature of the economic life of the Old South. The other two papers dealt with the Civil War. They were Herschel V. Johnson and the Opposition to the Secession Movement in Georgia, by P. S. Flippin, of Coker College, and The Co-relation of the Salt and Food Supplies of the Confederacy, by J. L. Sellers, of the University of Nebraska. Professor Flippin made it clear that Johnson rather than Stephens was the leader in the resistance to secession. Johnson appears to have felt convinced that if the decision could be delayed until the voters could be sufficiently informed, Georgia would not have voted herself out of the Union. Professor Sellers's treatment

of the salt question in 1861 recalls the difficulties over the lack of fats in France in 1793 or Germany in 1917. The seceding states could produce only about one-seventh of their needs in salt. Professor Sellers said that the shortage became so acute that the governors of Mississippi and Louisiana compelled the Confederate authorities to admit salt through the lines. The relation of salt to food supplies, especially for the preservation of foods, requires no argument, and it is easy to believe with Professor Sellers that salt played its part in the collapse of the Confederacy.

Joint sessions were held with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and with the Agricultural History Society. At the first, the papers were: The Discovery of Gold in the Pike's Peak Region, 1857–1858, by R. P. Bieber, of Washington University; Middle-of-the-Road Populists, by J. D. Hicks, of the University of Nebraska; and Donelson Caffery—a Louisiana Democrat out of Line, by E. M. Violette, of Louisiana State University. At the second they were: Marshall P. Wilder, Patron of Agriculture, by Herbert A. Kellar, of the McCormick Library; Cyrus Hall McCormick, his Reaper Industry during the Civil War, by W. T. Hutchinson, of the University of Chicago; and Gerrit Smith Miller, a Pioneer in the Cattle and Dairy Industry, by W. F. Galpin, of Syracuse University. Professor Hicks called attention to the sharp division of opinion among the Populists on the question of fusion. But although the party was dead by 1908 many of its principles had been adopted by the older parties. One of the delegates to the last convention remarked that Roosevelt's "messages read like the preamble to the Populist platform". Professor Violette's title was well chosen, for his paper showed that Senator Caffery opposed the majority of his party on the tariff, the silver question, and the war with Spain.

At the joint conference of the American Historical Association and the Business Historical Society which was held at Soldiers Field, N. S. B. Gras, professor of Business history at Harvard, defined business history tentatively as "the story of how the factors of production have been combined by those who seek primarily a profit in the form of money", and discussed its scope and its relation to economic history. Mr. J. P. Boyd, of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and others spoke of the need for an adequate guide to the sources of business history, and Mr. Boyd urged the publishing of documents on a large scale.

During the Luncheon Conference of the Public Archives Commission, Victor H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library, presented his views upon the project of a Short Guide for American Archivists, and Solon J. Buck, of the Minnesota Historical Society,

described the Need of a Survey of the Archival Situation in the United States. Lester J. Cappon, of the University of Virginia, explained what was being done by that university, with the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. Not only is a detailed survey being made of county, town, city, and state archives, but it is attempted through personal interviews to ascertain what records are preserved by business houses, libraries, churches, etc. Where manuscripts in private hands are not protected from possible destruction, the owners are advised to deposit them in a fireproof building. Many of these manuscripts are being deposited in the collection of the university itself.

The final session of the meeting was a Conference of State and Local Historical Societies. At this session J. W. Oliver, of the University of Pittsburgh, described the Five Year Programme for Local History in Western Pennsylvania, made possible through the grant of the Buhl Foundation and the coöperation of the University of Pittsburgh and the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. There followed a Round Table Discussion, led by Solon J. Buck.

The luncheons and dinners provided either opportunity for profitable discussion or for presentation of less formal aspects of history. There were three luncheons and three dinners on the first day. The Modern history group listened to a report from Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt upon the fortunes of the *Journal of Modern History* and elected new officers and members of the editorial board. The Hispanic-American group also discussed their special interests. The luncheon conference on Social Studies has already been mentioned. At the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Carl R. Fish, of the University of Wisconsin, genially satirized academic pedantries under the guise of describing the serious researches of rival universities in Mars directed toward the actual character of civilization in the Mississippi Valley. The dinner of the Agricultural History Society was addressed by Ulrich B. Phillips, of Yale University, who described recent experiences and observations in the Upper Soudan. At the luncheon given by Harvard University on December 30 addresses were made by President A. Lawrence Lowell and by Dr. Halvdan Koht, of the University of Oslo, who was visiting professor at Harvard during the first semester. The number of guests was so large that the facilities of a local hotel had to be requisitioned. Here the speakers were Professor S. E. Morison and Professor A. M. Schlesinger. On Wednesday, December 31, at the luncheon given by Boston University there were brief addresses by President Daniel L. Marsh and Dean William M. Warren.

The business meeting of the Association was held in Cambridge immediately after the luncheon given by Harvard University. The attendance was large. In his annual report Professor Dexter Perkins, the secretary, first called attention to the serious financial situation, the year having closed with a deficit of about $5000. He said that at the November meeting of the Council a committee had been created with Dr. Waldo G. Leland as chairman to consider means of providing a balanced budget in 1931. The committee, Mr. Perkins added, had given a great deal of study to the problem and had presented a number of recommendations to the Council which had been accepted. In this way the present crisis had been successfully met, but the secretary went on to say that the " members of the Association should fully understand the conditions which exist. It so happened that at the very moment when the Association, by its Endowment campaign, had found itself possessed of greatly increased resources, it also found itself with enlarged obligations. The assumption of all the expenses connected with the management and editing of the *Review* has added something like $7000 to the annual budget. When it is also taken into consideration that a not inconsiderable portion of the Endowment was intended by its donors to be used for special purposes, and that these intentions must and will be inviolably respected, it is clear enough that our general resources have not been increased to anything like the degree that has often been assumed."

At this point the secretary remarked that the need of a permanent secretariat, recognized last year by a vote of the Association, emphasized the desirability of larger resources. In closing the discussion of financial problems he referred with deep appreciation to the generous and long-continued services rendered by the retiring treasurer, Mr. Charles Moore.

The secretary spoke of the reorganization of the membership committee under the chairmanship of Professor Arthur J. May, of the University of Rochester, and appealed for the coöperation of the members of the Association in this particular task. He turned next to the publications made under the Revolving Fund, remarking that two volumes were in press, and two others about to go to the printer. Eleven works have been received by the committee, of which Professor E. P. Cheyney is chairman. Mr. Perkins described the projects being carried out by the Beveridge and Griswold committees, of which Professors Ulrich B. Phillips and E. B. Greene are chairmen. The first volume to appear through the Beveridge Fund will deal with opinion in the Southern states on the eve of secession. It has been edited by Professor Dwight L. Dumond. For the Griswold Fund the first volume is to contain the records of the Maryland

Court of Appeals, 1695–1792, edited by Judge Carroll T. Bond, chief justice of the present court, and by Dr. R. B. Morris, of the College of the City of New York, the secretary of the committee.

The secretary commented also upon the approaching publication of the *Guide to Historical Literature*, the progress made with the bibliographies of British History and of Travel, and upon the admirable manner in which the *Annual Reports* and the *Writings on American History* were being brought up to date. He then turned to the work of the American Council of Learned Societies and of the Social Science Research Council, bodies of which the Association is a constituent member. He mentioned other projects of publication by the Library of Congress and the Department of State. He felt that the record for the year was impressive and that no one could contemplate these many projects without a "deepening sense of the possibilities of coöperative effort".

After the secretary's report was concluded, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson read an appreciative sketch of the life of Professor E. D. Adams, the late vice president of the Association. Professor A. B. Hart addressed the meeting briefly in behalf of the United States Commission for the Celebration of the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, and suggested the appointment of an advisory committee. This was immediately voted. The Association then adopted the amendments submitted by the Council and the budget which it recommended. The text of both appears in the records printed below. The officers chosen for 1931 are: Carl Becker, president; Herbert E. Bolton, first vice president; Charles A. Beard, second vice president; Dexter Perkins, secretary; C. E. McGuire, treasurer. The two new members of the Council are Christopher B. Coleman and Charles W. Ramsdell.

The following awards of prizes were announced: the Justin Winsor Prize, to L. W. Labaree, of Yale University, for his *Royal Government in America, a Study of the British Colonial System before 1783* (reviewed on page 582); the George Louis Beer Prize, to Bernadotte E. Schmitt, for his volumes entitled *The Coming of the War*; the Jean Jules Jusserand Medal, to Otto Vossler, of the University of Berlin, for his monograph entitled *Die Amerikanischen Revolutionsideale in ihrem Verhältnis zu den Europäischen* (Munich and Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1929).

The next meeting of the Association will be held at Minneapolis on December 28, 29, and 30, 1931.

H. E. B.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

November 29, 1930

Voted:

That the date for the submission of essays for the various prizes be set at June 1.

That the chairman appoint a committee to consider the financial status of the Association and to report at the December meeting.

[The following persons were appointed: Waldo G. Leland, *chairman*, D. R. Fox, H. B. Learned, Conyers Read.]

That the following amendments to the constitution of the Association be submitted at the annual meeting of the Association:

Paragraph 2: substitute for this paragraph the following: 2. "Elected members, eight in number, chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association. At the election of 1931, the persons so elected shall be assigned to four equal classes, the members of which shall be elected to serve respectively for one, two, three, and four years. Subsequent elections in each class shall be for four years, except in the case of elections to complete unexpired terms."

Article VI., add: "For the transaction of necessary business when the council is not in session, the council shall elect annually an executive committee of not more than six members which shall include the secretary and the treasurer, and may include not more than two persons not members of the council. Subject to the general direction of the council, the executive committee shall be responsible for the management of Association interests and the carrying out of Association policies."

"The council, or when the council is not in session the executive committee, shall have authority to appoint an executive secretary, delegating to him such functions as may from time to time seem desirable and determining his compensation."

The word "executive" should also be omitted before "council" in the several articles where it occurs.

That the Committee on International Coöperation be discharged.

That the Committee on the Beveridge F[illegible] be authorized to arrange for the publication of a work indicating the state of public opinion in the North prior to the Civil War, similar to the work edited by Dr. Dwight L. Dumond on public opinion in the South.

December 28, 1930

Voted:

To authorize the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* to effect such economies in the management of the *Review* as would result for the coming year in a saving of $540.

That the Treasurer in sending out the July bills should make an appeal to members of the Association for an additional contribution and that this appeal should also be sent to life members.

That a standing Committee on Finance be appointed to consist of the Treasurer as chairman, the Secretary, Waldo G. Leland, H. B. Learned, and Mrs. Frank T. Griswold.

That the Dunning Prize be awarded to papers belonging to the field of American History as a whole.

That the Council express to Mr. Charles Moore its warm appreciation of his long and generous service to the Association and its sense of the great value of these services.

That the estimates of receipts and expenditures prepared by the special committee on finances [with minor changes] be recommended to the Association as the budget for 1931.

ITEMS FROM THE TREASURER'S REPORT

Receipts and Expenditures, balanced at		$142,722.71
Receipts:		
Annual Dues		16,838.59
Contributions, including life memberships		23,936.00
Interest		13,803.43
On Unrestricted Funds	$6,727.75	
Albert J. Beveridge Fund	4,150.00	
Littleton-Griswold Fund	1,250.00	
Special Grants:		
Carnegie Corporation of New York for Commission on the Social Studies		65,000.00
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for International Committee of Historical Sciences		8,000.00
American Council of Learned Societies for Bibliography of Travel		1,250.00
Social Science Research Council for "List of Diplomatic Agents"		450.00
Expenditures, chief items:		
Secretary and Treasurer		$ 7,422.86
Committees of Management (Executive Council, etc.)		1,515.06
Historical Activities (Commissions, Revolving Fund, etc.)		5,297.04
Commission on Social Studies		56,181.06
International Committee of Historical Sciences		8,000.00
Bibliography of Travel		1,315.70
American Historical Review (Copies to members)		8,935.58
(Editorial expenses)		5,540.00
Investments		41,800.55

BUDGET FOR 1931

(As voted by the Association, December 31, 1930)

Receipts Available for General Purposes	
Annual dues	$16,500.00
Registration fees	300.00
Special contributions requested of members	300.00
Miscellaneous	100.00
Interest on unrestricted funds	5,865.00
Interest on deposits, temporary balances, investments, etc.	2,080.00
	$25,145.00

Expenditures for General Purposes

Secretary and Treasurer	$ 7,000.00
Pacific Coast Branch	400.00
Committees of Management (Nominations, Membership, Programme, Local Arrangements, etc.)	675.00
Council	700.00
Editorial service, *Annual Report*	700.00
Contingent Fund	200.00
Bibliography of Modern British History	300.00
Conference of Historical Societies	25.00
Commissions (Historical Manuscripts, Public Archives)	200.00
Writings on American History	500.00
Dues (American Council of Learned Societies, Council on Education, International Committee of Historical Sciences)	185.00
International Historical Bibliography	200.00
Collaboration on list of constitutions, International Committee of Historical Sciences	75.00
Prizes (Adams)	200.00
American Historical Review (copies)	8,600.00
(Editorial expenses)	5,000.00
	$24,960.00

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, Carl Becker, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

First Vice President, Herbert E. Bolton, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Second Vice President, Charles A. Beard, New Milford, Conn.

Secretary, Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.

Treasurer, Constantine E. McGuire, 40 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 40 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.

Council (*ex officio*, the president, vice presidents, secretary, and treasurer).

Elected Members: Samuel E. Morison, Winfred T. Root, Elizabeth Donnan, J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, Dixon R. Fox, Ulrich B. Phillips, Charles W. Ramsdell, Christopher B. Coleman.

Former Presidents: John Bach McMaster, J. Franklin Jameson, Albert Bushnell Hart, Frederick J. Turner, Andrew C. McLaughlin, George L. Burr, Worthington C. Ford, Edward Channing (died January 7, 1931), Jean Jules Jusserand, Charles H. Haskins, Edward P. Cheyney, Charles M. Andrews, Dana C. Munro, Henry Osborn Taylor, James H. Breasted, James Harvey Robinson, Evarts B. Greene.

OFFICERS OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH: *President*, Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon; *Vice President*, Edward M. Hulme, Stanford University; *Secretary-Treasurer*, Carl F. Brand, Stanford University; *Executive Committee:* (the above) and Reginald F. Arragon, Frederic C. Church, Robert G. Raymer, J. J. Van Nostrand.

COMMITTEES:

Committee on Programme for the Forty-sixth Annual Meeting: Lester B. Shippee, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., chairman; A. E. R. Boak, John D. Hicks, William T. Laprade, Raymond J. Sontag, James Westfall Thompson, Payson J. Treat, Mary W. Williams; and (*ex officio*) Dexter Perkins, Christopher B. Coleman, O. C. Stine.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn., secretary.

Committee on Nominations: Chester P. Higby, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., chairman; Frederick Merk, Samuel F. Bemis, Arthur C. Cole, Bessie L. Pierce.

Editors of the American Historical Review: J. Franklin Jameson, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., chairman; Henry E. Bourne (*ex officio* as Managing Editor), Arthur C. Cole, Verner W. Crane, Tenney Frank, Charles Seymour, James Westfall Thompson.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Theodore C. Pease, 426 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Ill., chairman; Randolph G. Adams, J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, Reginald C. McGrane, Thomas P. Martin, John C. Parish, W. W. Sweet.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: William E. Lunt, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa., chairman; Elmer A. Beller, Robert H. George.

Public Archives Commission: Charles W. Ramsdell, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, chairman; J. B. Hedges, Thomas M. Marshall, Margaret C. Norton, James G. Randall.

Committee on Bibliography: Henry R. Shipman, 27 Mercer Street, Princeton, N. J., chairman; William H. Allison, Solon J. Buck, Sidney B. Fay, Grace G. Griffin, Augustus H. Shearer.

Committee on Bibliography of Modern British History: Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., chairman; Arthur Lyon Cross, Godfrey Davies, Roger B. Merriman, Wallace Notestein, Conyers Read, Caroline F. Ware.

Committee on Publications: Leo F. Stock, 3737 Michigan Avenue, N. E., Washington, D. C., chairman.

Committee on Membership: Arthur J. May, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y., chairman; Edward C. Kirkland, Arthur H. Noyes, J. E. Pomfret, Lowell Joseph Ragatz, Lawrence D. Steefel, W. L. Westergaard.

Conference of Historical Societies: G. S. Ford, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., chairman; Christopher B. Coleman, Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, Ind., secretary.

Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools: A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., chairman; F. W. Ballou, Charles A. Beard, Isaiah Bowman, Ada L. Comstock, George S. Counts, Avery O. Craven, Edmund E. Day, Guy Stanton Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Ernest Horn, Henry Johnson, Leon C. Marshall, Charles E. Merriam, Jesse H. Newlon, Jesse F. Steiner.

Delegates in the American Council of Learned Societies: J. Franklin Jameson, Edward P. Cheyney.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize: Reginald L. Trotter, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., Canada, chairman; Louise Fargo Brown, Raymond J. Sontag.

Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government: Samuel F. Bemis, 3312 Cathedral Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., chairman; William K. Boyd, J. Franklin Jameson, H. Barrett Learned, John Bach McMaster, Dumas Malone, Charles Moore, Joseph Schafer, St. George L. Sioussat, Leo F. Stock, Mark Sullivan, Charles Warren.

Representative in the International Committee of Historical Sciences: Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C.

Committee on the Jusserand Medal: James Harvey Robinson, 173 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y., chairman; Crane Brinton, Merle E. Curti.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize: J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., chairman; Ralph H. Gabriel, C. Mildred Thompson.

Delegates in the Social Science Research Council: Guy Stanton Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Arthur M. Schlesinger.

Representatives in the Committee for the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences: Carlton J. H. Hayes, Carl Becker, C. H. Haring.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications: Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., chairman; Violet Barbour, Henry Commager, Marcus W. Jernegan, Robert L. Schuyler.

Committee on the Bibliography of Travel: Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.

Committee on Permanent Quarters: Henry E. Bourne, 40 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C., chairman; Fairfax Harrison, H. Barrett Learned, Charles Moore, Dexter Perkins.

International Subcommittee on Chronology: George Lacombe, Care Equitable Trust Co., 41, rue Cambon, Paris, France.

Committee on Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund: Ulrich B. Phillips, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., chairman; Arthur C. Cole, Roy F. Nichols.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund: Evarts B. Greene, Columbia University, New York, N. Y., chairman; R. B. Morris, 1795 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y., secretary; Charles M. Andrews, Carroll T. Bond, John Dickinson, Felix Frankfurter.

Committee on Finance: Constantine E. McGuire, 40 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C., chairman; Mrs. Frank T. Griswold, H. Barrett Learned, Waldo G. Leland, Dexter Perkins.

MAKING THE REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR

In view of the recent agitation for calendar reform, the French venture during the Revolution assumes a new interest. It was the last serious attempt to solve the baffling problem. To-day both advocates and opponents of change may look back to it for comfort and counsel, the former determined that the lessons of history shall not be in vain and the latter confident that history will repeat itself. This study, however, is concerned with the French experiment for its own sake and no effort will be made to point out analogies which may or may not apply under present conditions.

The general plan of the Republican Calendar was outlined in the law of November 24, 1793.[1] The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five complementary days and a sixth every leap year in order to maintain the coincidence with the solar year. Each month was divided into three ten-day periods called *décades* and the week was abolished. The first year of the Republic was decreed as beginning September 22, 1792; the second, September 22, 1793; and so on. The provisions of the plan are well known, but the steps and factors in its development are less clear. A review of the formation of the new calendar will, it is hoped, throw some light on these points. It will also aid the uninitiated in understanding the dating of certain contemporary records which has been confused by retroactive legislation. For example, it will explain why, according to the dating of the *Moniteur*, the "First Year of the Republic" was so short (September 24 to December 31, 1792) and the "Second Year" so long (January 1, 1793, to September 21, 1794).[2]

One of the important factors in initiating and shaping the calendar changes of the Revolution was the influence of the almanacs[3]

[1] The text is found in Duvergier, *Lois*, VI. 294 ff. The best general treatment of the Republican Calendar is the series of articles by Georges Villain, Étude sur le Calendrier Républicain, in *La Révolution Française*, vols. VII. and VIII.

[2] See the headings of the *Moniteur* for the period mentioned. The *Révolutions de Paris* also begins the "Second Year of the Republic" with its number (182) for the week "du 29 décembre 1792 au 5 janvier 1793", and continues this same year to "28 février 1794 vieux style" (no. 225), the last appearance of the paper.

[3] For a list of these almanacs by years see Henri Welschinger, *Les Almanachs de la Révolution*, pp. 219–238. This entire work is devoted to a discussion of the almanacs.

which appeared. They reflected the growing spirit of innovation. While it is doubtless true that the majority of the people did not favor their more extreme proposals or were perhaps even unaware of them at the time, still these cheap publications tended to accustom their readers to the idea of change, and especially did they provide suggestions which were later put into effect by a small but aggressive group that controlled the course of events in a critical period. Among these almanacs the most significant was Sylvain Maréchal's *Almanach des Honnêtes Gens,* published in 1788.[4] It contained the real germ of the Republican Calendar. Here appeared the year of twelve equal months with five or six complementary days (scattered through the year, however, instead of all coming together at the end), and each month divided into three *décades.* But the most startling innovation, at least to contemporaries, was the substitution of "honnêtes gens" for the saints of the Gregorian Calendar. The work was roundly denounced by the government, which ordered it "torn up and burned . . . as impious, sacrilegious, blasphemous, and tending to destroy religion". Such drastic action may have been somewhat responsible for later almanacs being less radical,[5] but it did not stop their publication. Since their propagandic value was soon recognized by the Revolutionary leaders, the number increased. In 1791 the Jacobin Club offered a prize of twenty-five *louis* for the best patriotic almanac. Forty-two works were submitted to the judges and the prize was won by Collot d'Herbois with his *Almanach du Père Gérard.*[6] The award to Collot, however, revealed the noteworthy fact that even among the Jacobins of 1791, anti-religious sentiment was not yet predominant, for his almanac retained the saints' days of the old calendar.

Again, it must be remembered that the French Revolution was a movement full of idealistic impulses. Truth, unity, reason, justice,

[4] According to Welschinger, p. 219, 1788 was the original date of publication. The copy I have used is a "new edition" included in *Dictionnaire des Honnêtes Gens,* rédigé par P. Sylvain Maréchal, Paris, 1791. I am informed that there is another edition in Cornell University Library dated 1793. Editions may have been issued yearly, although I am aware of no others. The new editions seem to indicate that the work was sufficiently popular to be in demand.

[5] The "Arrêt de la cour de parlement" under date of January 7, 1788, condemning this almanac, is found in *Dictionnaire des Honnêtes Gens,* pp. vi–xii. The 1791 edition of Maréchal's *Almanach des Honnêtes Gens* is practically unchanged, but there is inserted immediately after it (perhaps to take off the curse) an *Almanach de Santé* which conforms entirely to the old calendar, even to the saints' days.

[6] Welschinger, pp. 22 ff. The edition of this almanac which I have used is dated 1792.

virtue, liberty, equality, fraternity, became words to conjure with, and the spirit behind them was in no small degree responsible for the remarkable conquests of both Revolutionary ideas and armies.[7] Even while impending, the significance of the Revolution was grasped by the members of the third estate of Draguignan, who in their *cahier* asserted that "France is going to begin a new life". In like manner, Mirabeau declared to the Constituent Assembly, "Your laws will be the laws of Europe, if you are worthy of them; so strong is the influence of great states, and, above all, of France". To many under the stimulus of great expectations, such events as the fall of the Bastille, the abolition of feudal rights, and the declaration of the rights of man appeared to mark the dawn of a new age. As the Revolution progressed, this tendency gradually developed into the custom of referring to the new era as that of "Liberty". 1789 thus became the "First Year of Liberty", 1790 the "Second Year of Liberty", and so on. The custom, fostered by patriotic societies, grew by a sort of common consent and without any legislative enactment whatever.[8]

The origin of the custom is, I believe, to be traced back to Sylvain Maréchal's *Almanach des Honnêtes Gens*, already cited. His work bore the striking date, "l'an premier du règne de la Raison".[9] Thus did this remarkable almanac seem to blaze the way in notable innovations which, if not immediately adopted, were later to come into vogue. Concerning the designation of the era of liberty, the earliest indication of the practice which I have discovered is in Prudhomme's weekly, the *Révolutions de Paris*. In number 25, for the week ending January 2, 1790, there appeared, probably for the first time, the heading, "Seconde année de la liberté française".[10] This new dat-

[7] That the use of such words might be carried to the lengths of absurdity is shown by the following amusing petition presented to the council of the Commune of Paris and published in the *Moniteur* of October 14, 1793:

"Une citoyenne présente au conseil un enfant qui se nomme *Leroi*; elle demande qu'à ce nom hideux soit substitué celui d'*Unité*.

"Cette demande est accueillie par le conseil, qui en ordonne la mention sur son registre, et qu'il en soit délivré acte."

[8] *Le Courrier des LXXXIII Départemens* (*IIe Législature*), 1792, vol. IV., no. 4, p. 60.

[9] Welschinger, p. 2. The same date heading appears on the later edition of 1791.

[10] As there were innumerable reprints of this journal, existing sets do not appear in agreement upon the point in question. For example, there is a set in the Library of Congress in which the designation "Première année de la liberté française" appears on nos. 11, 16, 17, 23, and 24. In no. 7 the designation is "Seconde année de la liberté française". It seems reasonable to suppose that after adopting the designation "Seconde année", etc., for the number covering the week ending on January 2, the publishers began to insert on reprints of certain previous numbers "Première année", etc. In the case of no. 7 the printer was so much in haste that he inserted "Seconde année", etc.

ing was evidently intended to be permanent, for it is continued in all the later numbers. With the issue of July 14, 1790, the *Moniteur* entered the list, carrying the following addition to its regular date, "1er jour de la 2de Année de la Liberté". Other newspapers were still slower in taking up the custom. The volume of *Le Courrier* of Gorsas which begins with October 2, 1791, has printed on its title-page the heading, "L'an 3e de la Liberté".[11] But it was not until August 31, 1792, that the conservative *Mercure* carried on its title-page the two words, "Liberté, Egalité".[12]

The practice of indicating the "Year of Liberty" was by no means universal among the newspapers and other public records of the time. Many of the best newspapers of the Constituent Assembly carried no recognition of it either in the dates of their separate numbers or on the title-pages of their volumes. Such was the case with the *Journal des Débats et des Décrets, L'Assemblée Nationale, Le Point du Jour,* and *Le Courrier de Provence.* The *Procès-verbal* of the National Assembly likewise ignored the matter so far as the dating of its numbers or its volumes was concerned.[13] Even Marat's notorious paper, *L'Ami du Peuple,* gave no indication of the new era so long as it appeared under that title.[14] The reasons why this new system was not adopted in the cases cited may have been various, but the chief one was probably the fact that the responsible parties in each instance were devoting their attention to matters which they considered more important.

Among those who adopted the new system, however, a difference of opinion soon developed as to the beginning and end of this "Year of Liberty". The position of the *Moniteur* seems clear enough from its date line of July 14, quoted above. If the "First day of the Second Year of Liberty" was July 14, 1790, then the year would begin with July 14 and end with July 13 of the year following. On the other hand, there was a demand to count the year 1789 as an entire year even though beginning with July 14, and to consider the "Second Year of Liberty" as beginning with January 1, 1790, thus making the new years in the future correspond with those of the existing

[11] *Le Courrier des LXXXIII Départemens,* 1791, vol. I.

[12] *Mercure Français,* 1792, vol. V., nos. 34, 35.

[13] The *Procès-verbal, Le Point du Jour, L'Assemblée Nationale,* and *Le Courrier de Provence,* all stop with the close of the Constituent Assembly at the end of September, 1791. The new system was undoubtedly known to the publishers of these records, however, for by that time the *Moniteur* had been following it for over a year and the *Révolutions de Paris* for nearly two years.

[14] Down to Sept. 21, 1792.

calendar.[15] Although the custom of recording these "Years of Liberty" had developed in an extralegal manner, the controversy as to whether the years were to begin with July 14 or January 1 was finally brought before the Legislative Assembly for settlement. The mention of the "Fourth Year of Liberty" in connection with the reading of the *procès-verbal* in the session of January 2, 1792, precipitated the question which was decided the same day.

During the discussion it was revealed that the finance minister had previously raised the question in order to learn whether in placing "the inscription of the year 1, 2 or 3 of liberty on money" they were going to change the calendar "adopted in all Europe". The cause of this difficulty was the action of the Constituent Assembly providing that the new money should bear both the date of the Christian Era and the year of French liberty.[16] If the year of liberty began on July 14, these two dates would not change at the same time and confusion would follow. To prevent such an outcome, the committee after long discussion had decided that it would be necessary "to count the year of liberty from January 1, 1789". In order to settle the matter definitely, M. Dorizy proposed that the Assembly decree "that either as regards money or the *procès-verbaux* and other public acts where the era of liberty is involved, the reckoning of the era of liberty shall follow that which is in vogue in the greater part of Europe for the recurrence of the year. Consequently it declares that the fourth year of liberty began yesterday, January 1, 1792."[17]

This proposal met with vigorous opposition. The advocates of July 14 dwelt upon the glories of that day. "It was then they saw the walls of the Bastille fall in ruins; then that the French soldier, weary of being a machine, aspired to the title of citizen. It was then they witnessed the flight of the D'Artois, the Guiches, the Polignacs and the whole horde of vampires who had grown fat on the substance of the people."[18] The example of the patriotic societies in dating the era from July 14 was, according to Gorsas, not only worthy of the applause of the people's representatives, but of their sanction as well.[19]

[15] See the speech of Dorizy reported in the *Moniteur* of January 4, 1792. The *Révolutions de Paris* followed the plan of beginning the years of the new era with January 1.

[16] *Archives Parlementaires*, XXXVII. 7.

[17] For the proposed decree as well as a report of the entire discussion see *Arch. Parl.*, XXXVII. 6, 7. The account in the *Moniteur* of January 4, 1792, is briefer.

[18] *Le Courrier des LXXXIII Départemens*, 1792, vol. IV., no. 4, p. 61.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

On the other hand, it was contended that several memorable and even determining events of the Revolution, such as the formation of the National Assembly and the Tennis Court Oath, had occurred prior to July 14. But the argument that really decided the matter can perhaps be best stated in the words of Reboul: "The date July 14 is without doubt the most glorious of our revolution; but it seems to me very dangerous to change a calendar which has taken more than two hundred years to be adopted throughout Europe." Accordingly, the Assembly accepted the proposed decree of Dorizy but with the following important amendment added: "that all public acts, civil, judicial, and diplomatic shall bear the inscription of the era of liberty".[20] Not only was the beginning of the new year settled by preserving the reckoning of the old calendar, but henceforth the new era was to be an official matter.

This decision, in so far as the settlement of the beginning of the new year was concerned, was not graciously accepted by its opponents. Gorsas commented sarcastically: "They did not wish to disturb the *old plan* of Pope Gregory, of that vicar of God who did not blush to have a medal struck commemorating Saint Bartholomew's Day!! Only a slight reform may now be made; let us hope that our children, less *stupid* than we, shall replace the *heroes* of the calendar with the names of those who shall have deserved well of the fatherland."[21] Neither did Gorsas immediately put the decision into effect in his paper. Volume V., which began with February 1, 1792, carried the heading, "L'an 3^{e} de la Liberté"; and it was not until volume VI., beginning with March 1, that the change was made to "L'an 4^{e}".[22] The *Moniteur,* however, at once accepted the decision of the Assembly, for, while the issue of January 4, 1792, was dated the third year of liberty, the change to the fourth year began with the number of January 5.

The next outstanding change of status during the Revolution came with the overthrow of the monarchy on August 10, 1792. That the Legislative Assembly sensed the significance of the event is perhaps most clearly shown by two measures which were adopted on that memorable day. The first was an action which required every member of the assembly to take the following oath: "In the name of the nation, I swear to preserve liberty and equality or to die at my post." The other provided for the suspension of the king and the formation of a National Convention. Article 2 of the decree as adopted reads: "The chief of the executive power is provisionally

[20] *Moniteur,* Jan. 4, 1792.

[21] *Le Courrier des LXXXIII Départemens,* 1792, vol. IV., no. 4, p. 61.

[22] *Ibid.,* vols. V. and VI.

suspended from his functions until the National Convention shall decide on the measures which it believes should be adopted to secure the sovereignty of the people and the reign of liberty and equality." These measures, together with the requirement that the newly elected ministers take the above mentioned oath, and other similar actions, all reveal the growing emphasis placed upon "liberty and equality".[23] It seems that "equality", which may perchance have been somewhat obscured in the dawn of "liberty", was now to be given due recognition and raised to a position as commanding as that of her elder sister. Doubtless with this aim in view the Commune, on August 13, voted in dating its acts to add to the words "l'an IV de la liberté", "le *premier à l'égalité*".[24] The *Moniteur*, in its issue of August 21, also introduced a new heading, "L'an quatrième de la Liberté, et le premier de l'Egalité". Evidently the downfall of the monarchy was to mark the beginning of the "reign of equality", another new era.

These examples were soon followed by others. The next two volumes (XII. and I. [Convention], beginning respectively the 1st and 22nd of September, 1792) of *Le Courrier* of Gorsas carried a heading exactly like that of the *Moniteur*, while, as previously stated, there appeared for the first time on the title-page of the *Mercure Français* under date of August 31 simply the two words, "Liberté, Egalité". Curiously enough, the "year of equality" was not to be found as a heading in the copy of the *Révolutions de Paris* which I have used. Perhaps the chief reason why this "era of equality" was not more generally adopted was that it was crowded out by the press of events after the August insurrection. Foreign war, the organization of the Revolutionary Commune, the disposition of the royal family, the September Massacres, together with the election and meeting of the National Convention, absorbed the attention of most Frenchmen. Then with the startling changes made by the National Convention, "equality" was lost sight of and even the official "era of liberty" was swept away. Thus "equality" was only a fleeting, transitional era which made its bid for recognition in the perplexing days before the establishment of the Republic.

Among the important acts passed by the National Convention one of the first was the decree "that royalty is abolished in France". The action was taken on the 21st of September. On the following day another action was taken, the significance of which was not entirely realized at the time, for it is not even given passing notice,

[23] *Arch. Parl.*, XLVII. 642, 645; XLVIII. 14, 16, 17, 29, 30; Buchez et Roux, *Histoire Parlementaire*, XVII. 14, 18, 24, 36, 43, 44, 103.

[24] *Procès-verbaux de la Commune de Paris*, ed. Maurice Tourneux, p. 20.

much less a full report, in the *Moniteur*. This measure was introduced by Billaud-Varenne and was a proposal that, starting with the previous day, public acts should be dated "the first year of the French Republic" instead of "the fourth year of liberty". Although the proposed change seemed to meet with quite general approval, several members immediately rushed to the defense of the existing system. Salle, while not objecting to the establishment of the new era, urged also the retention of the old one in order to commemorate the taking of the Bastille and the beginning of French liberty. He was supported by another member who thought that France ought never to forget the time when the rights of man were proclaimed. Lasource, however, ridiculed the idea of there being any "genuine liberty" under the constitution. "Gentlemen", said he, "when patriots were excluded from public functions, when they were expelled from the armies by intriguers, when they were persecuted, oppressed in every way by tyrannical authorities, French citizens were free! No, gentlemen, we are free only since we no longer have a king." This speech was too much for Salle and he withdrew his amendment. The Convention then decreed "that henceforth all public acts shall bear the date of the first year of the French Republic".[25]

The dating of practically all the newspapers was soon brought into conformity with the decree of the 22nd. The *Moniteur* of September 24 was dated "L'an 1er de la République Française". The *Révolutions de Paris* for the week of September 22 to 29 carried a similar heading. Marat, who had formerly made no display of the years of liberty or equality, now considered the "abolition of royalty" of sufficient importance to change the name of his paper and under date of September 25 appeared the first number of his *Journal de la République Française*. The *Mercure Français* complied with the new ruling in its issue of October 6, and the heading was found

[25] *Arch. Parl.*, LII. 80. See also the extract from the *Procès-verbal de la Convention*, I. 18, as quoted in *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale* (3 vols., Paris, 1891–1897, ed. M. J. Guillaume, *Collection de Documents Inédits*), I. 236. In its issue of September 26, 1792, the *Moniteur* (no. 270, p. 1146) merely states that the National Convention passed this decree in the session of September 21. The fact that the decree was not mentioned until some days after it was passed may account for the mistake in the date. (It should be September 22.) At any rate, the editor of the *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur* (vol. XIV., no. 266, p. 8, note 1) added a note to the account of the session of September 21, calling attention to the failure of the *Moniteur* to report the decree of that day inspired by Billaud-Varenne's proposal. It is quite probable that Georges Villain, who also gives the wrong date in his Étude sur le Calendrier Républicain, *La Révolution Française*, VIII. 633, 634, followed this note in the *Réimpression*, for all of his references to the *Moniteur* are to the *Réimpression*.

for the first time in *Le Courrier* of Gorsas on the title-page of volume II., which began with the issue of November 1.

With the establishment of the new republican era there soon developed an increasing demand for a change in the calendar or the introduction of a new one. As noted above this demand was not new, for it had already appeared in the almanacs even during the pre-Revolutionary agitation. Since that time it had gradually grown. An interesting indication of this growth is an unsigned letter to the astronomer Lalande which was published in the *Moniteur* of May 17, 1790. Taking a leaf of calendar change from the book of Caesar, the writer inquires: "At the moment when France has just been regenerated, when the love of liberty is making ever greater conquests with the prospect of gradually spreading far and wide, is it not most fitting indeed to propose a similar change, especially if this change, in establishing an auspicious and memorable era, has other definite advantages?" He then stated his objections to the existing calendar and advocated a year beginning in the spring instead of mid-winter. He proposed that the change should date from April 1, 1789, and that the new era be called the "Era of Liberty" as already suggested by Barère. As a contemporary estimate of the relative importance of this change, his closing sentence is significant. "The uniformity of weights and measures has without doubt a much greater utility than this which I propose; but it does not appear to me indifferent, even for the glory of the National Assembly, to associate the regeneration of the year with that of the public welfare." [26]

Two petitions were presented to the Convention in the latter part of 1792 on the subject of calendar reform.[27] The one by François de Neufchâteau, president of the department of the Vosges, urged that a prize be offered for "a civil calendar worthy of being established by decree in the Republic". The other, signed Cazeaux, proposed that the year should begin with September 21 and that the months should bear the names of twelve French citizens who had perished in the struggle for liberty and equality. This latter proposal to change the beginning of the year, especially as the year 1792 drew to a close, naturally raised the question of the relation of the new republican era to the old reckoning. On December 20 the matter was brought to the attention of the Convention and a decree was passed authorizing the committee of public instruction to present with the least possible delay a statement of the advantages which would result to France from the concordance of the republican and common eras.[28]

[26] *Moniteur*, May 17, 1790.

[27] Editor's note in *P.-v. du Com. d'Instr. Pub.*, I. 237.

[28] *Procès-verbal de la Convention*, IV. 299, as quoted in *P.-v. du Com. d'Instr. Pub.*, I. 236. But see note, *ibid.*

There is no evidence that any such statement was either prepared or presented, but the next day, December 21, the committee appointed three of its members, Ferry, Romme, and Dupuis, "to undertake, with some members of the Academy of Sciences, changes which were to be made in the calendar, or in the manner of fixing or of naming the different divisions of time". The decision of the committee to undertake a reform of the calendar has been attributed to the influence of Romme. With the renewal of the committee of public instruction a few days later, it appeared likely that the entire preparation of the plan might also devolve upon him, since both Dupuis and Ferry were left off.[29] They continued to serve on the calendar project with but a slight break, however, for the new committee decided in its meeting of January 25, 1793, to invite them, although no longer members, to complete the task for which they had been chosen.[30]

Apparently unwilling to allow further time for investigation, the Convention took a decisive step on January 2, 1793. It passed a measure in favor of the concordance of the old and new eras. Three days before, Manuel had called the attention of that body to the importance of a calendar beginning September 21, but his suggestion had evidently made little impression. The motion for concordance called forth practically no discussion, and very little space is devoted to the decision itself in the contemporary accounts. The *Moniteur* does not even mention it. The *Procès-verbal* merely states that, "On the proposition of one of its members, the Assembly decides that the second year of the Republic shall date from January 1, 1793".[31] The only additional information which I have discovered is to the effect that the motion was made by Arbogast and that the measure was necessary to reconcile the republican and common eras.[32] There are at least two important reasons which may help to explain

[29] *P.-v. du Com. d'Instr. Pub.*, I. 227, 228. This record is not definite as to just which members of the committee were to undertake the problem of calendar reform, but by comparing it with Romme's report to the Convention on September 20, 1793 (*ibid.*, II. 448), it is perfectly clear that the three mentioned were selected. His report also shows that the coöperating members of the Academy of Sciences were Pingré, Lagrange, Monge, and Guyton. See also notes 2, 4, *ibid.*, p. 227.

[30] *Ibid.*, I. 299. *Cf.* Romme's report, *ibid.*, II. 448.

[31] After pointing out the error in a national almanac presented to the Convention by "la citoyenne de Bure", Manuel is reported to have said: "Le calendrier des Français libres est du 21 septembre." *Moniteur*, Jan. 3, 1793. *P.-v. du Com. d'Instr. Pub.*, I. 237.

[32] *Hist. Parl.*, XXII. 382. The editor of the *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique* (I. 237) states that the name of the member who made this motion is not known, but he probably overlooked this reference in the *Histoire Parlementaire*.

the slight attention given to the problem. The first is the fact that the Convention was then in the midst of the trial of the king. This dramatic episode tended to crowd all other affairs from the minds both of the legislators and the great mass of the French people, and most of the space in the newspapers is devoted to it. The other may perhaps be characterized as a more or less general conviction that the question had already been settled in principle. Just a year before to the day the same problem had arisen over the relation of the year of liberty to the old year and, after a vigorous debate, the Legislative Assembly had decided that the existing system should be preserved and that the "fourth year of liberty" should begin with January 1 instead of July 14, 1792. It appears that the decisive factor in the action of January 2, 1793, was again the desire to maintain the concordance of the new with the old era, and the precedent of the previous year may well have had a powerful contributing influence to that end.

Not only during this time but in the following months public opinion was agitated over calendar reform by the almanacs which continued to appear. Some of these urged radical changes and others as vigorously opposed them, while every conceivable argument was marshaled to strengthen the respective views.[33] One of these had an exceptional influence. This was the work of that master almanac maker, Sylvain Maréchal, and bore the title, *Almanach des Républicains*. Published in 1793, its object is plainly stated in a line following the title—"pour servir à l'instruction publique". A most significant part of the instruction is found in the opening sentence of the preface: "The calendar of the French Republic . . . must not resemble in any respect the official annuals of the apostolic and Roman Church."[34] How well he carried out these instructions in his own production and some indication of the influence it exerted are revealed in the following extract from the record of the Paris Commune for October 5, 1793: "The *procureur* of the Commune, desiring that no festivals other than those in honor of liberty and of equality be celebrated, and in order to recall the memorable dates of the Revolution by effacing every trace of fanaticism, urges that the republican calendar made by citizen Maréchal be accepted and observed. The general council adopts this proposal."[35] Since the influence of the Commune was becoming so decisive not only in the

[33] Welschinger, *passim*.

[34] For a discussion of this almanac, see Georges Villain, Étude sur le Calendrier Républicain, in *La Révolution Française*, VIII. 624, 625, and Welschinger, pp. 62–65.

[35] *Moniteur*, Oct. 7, 1793.

affairs of Paris but in those of the nation as well, the significance of such an action should not be overlooked. It is also another indication of the growing anti-Christian movement which was to culminate in the notorious *fête de la raison.*

In the meantime the appointees of the committee of public instruction selected to work on calendar reform had been formulating their plan. On September 14 Romme asked the committee to hear and discuss this report at its next meeting (September 17). The committee agreed, but since it was impossible to complete the discussion on that day, the following meeting (September 19) was also devoted to it.[36] In the Convention on the 18th, however, Romme, speaking for the committee of public instruction, announced that the work assigned to it "to fashion a new calendar suitable for a Republic" was ready, and asked that a date for its presentation be set. In harmony with the Convention's action on this request, Romme made his report in the session of September 20.[37]

All doubt as to the attitude and intention of the committee was removed by the report. It first commended the newly established system of weights and measures and then proceeds: "The arts and history . . . also require of you new measures of time that may be equally free from the errors which credulity and superstitious customs have brought down to us through centuries of ignorance. . . . the common era was the era of cruelty, of falsehood, of treachery, and of slavery; it has ended with royalty, the source of all our woes. The Revolution has retempered the souls of the French; each day it molds them to the republican virtues. Time is opening a new book of history and in its further progress, majestic and simple as equality, it will write with a new and virile pen the annals of regenerated France." Former changes in the calendar were sketched, and the shortcomings and unsystematic character of the existing reckoning pointed out. Improvements were suggested. The happy coincidence of the proclamation of the Republic with the autumnal equinox offered an auspicious beginning for the new era and the new year. "Thus", in the words of the report, "the equality of the days and

[36] We know very little about the work of the commission in preparing this plan except that conferences were held with certain specialists in astronomy and Ancient history. See *P.-v. du Com. d'Instr. Pub.*, II. 434, note 5. See also pp. 436, 438, 439. *Cf.* Romme's report, *ibid.*, II. 448.

[37] *Moniteur*, Sept. 21, 1793. The account in the official record is slightly different. As reported there, the speaker, Romme, asserts that the committee was asked to present "un plan de calendrier tel qu'il convient à une République". *P.-v. du Com. d'Instr. Pub.*, II. 437. The text of the report follows, II. 440–451; see also Georges Villain's Étude sur le Calendrier Républicain in *La Révolution Française*, VIII. 636–648.

nights was marked in the heavens at the same moment when civil and moral equality was proclaimed by the representatives of the French people as the sacred foundation of their new government." The report closes with a formulated decree composed of seventeen articles which included the proposed changes.

The committee has been accused of going beyond its instructions, since the Convention had given no definite order to prepare "a new calendar".[38] The charge is not without some justification, especially if the decree of January 2, 1793, be taken into account. It seems probable, however, that the committee accepted the commission of December 20, 1792, "to present with the least possible delay a statement of the advantages which would result to France from the concordance of the republican and common eras", as a general authorization to bring in any recommendations regarding the relation of the two eras which it considered proper. That this assumption was justified may be inferred from the fact that no charge of having exceeded its authority was made against it in the Convention when the report was presented.

Action on the report was not taken in the Convention until the session of October 5. The first five articles of the proposed decree were then adopted without discussion.[39] Since these articles involved the supplanting of the old era by the new, the setting of September 22, 1792, as the beginning of both the new era and the first year, and the revocation of the decree of January 2, 1793, it occasions some surprise to note the complete absence of opposition. At this point, however, an effort was made to prevent further innovations but it was unsuccessful. The principal changes in the plan that were made by the Convention had to do with the designations of the months and the days, for which several sets of names had been suggested by the committee.[40] The foolishness of some of these was driven home when the proposal to call the second day the "day of husband and wife" drew from Albitte the pertinent observation that "Every day is the day of husband and wife". Such comments and the fear that the old names would be preferred to the new led the Convention to decide that both the months and the days should be designated by numbers. In this session also Fabre d'Églantine made the first suggestion that each day should be given the name of some plant or

[38] *P.-v. du Com. d'Instr. Pub.*, II. 437, note 1.

[39] *Moniteur*, Oct. 7, 1793.

[40] A table containing seven different schemes for naming the days of the *décade* and the months of the new calendar is to be found in Marc de Vissac's *Romme le Montagnard* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1883), appendice F, pp. 266–267. We do not know that all of these were reported to the Convention nor that of those presented all were introduced at the same time.

useful animal and urged that the committee be charged to investigate the matter.[41] Other slight amendments were made and the Convention adopted the plan.[42] Although there were later modifications of its provisions, the Republican Calendar was now officially established.

The result of this decision as it affected the dating of documents is of peculiar interest. The *Moniteur* of October 7, which contained the account of the adoption of the new calendar, put the new dating into effect at once with the line, "Le 16 du premier mois, l'an II[e] de la République Française". The dates of the old era were entirely omitted down to October 26. In the number for that day the republican date was divided by this insertion: (26 octobre 1793). Three days later the *Moniteur* adopted the form regularly used of placing the old date in parentheses after the date of the new era—(29 octobre 1793, vieux style). Beginning with February 14, 1794, the abbreviation for the day of the week was also placed in parentheses. Double dating in this form continued in the headings of the *Moniteur* down to and including April 5, 1798, after which time the republican date alone appeared.[43]

French influence and example, however, were not to be confined to that country alone. The successful invasion of the United Netherlands in January, 1795, was undoubtedly responsible for some significant changes in the *Gazette de Leyde*.[44] In its issue of January 27, the Revolutionary trinity, "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité", first made its appearance in the heading and "L'An premier de la Liberté Batave" was added to the regular date. The trinity was dropped after

[41] *Moniteur*, Oct. 7, 1793.

[42] For the decree as finally adopted see *P.-v. du Com. d'Instr. Pub.*, II. 582–584. See also the notes of the latter reference which indicate the changes from the original plan reported September 20.

[43] See the headings of the *Moniteur* for the dates mentioned. It is difficult to understand how H. Morse Stephens came to make the statement (*Yale Review*, IV. 330) that the custom of inserting the Gregorian date in brackets after the republican date was forbidden during the Reign of Terror. I can find no evidence of this prohibition. If the Convention did take any such action, it was completely disregarded in the date headings of the *Moniteur* with the exception of the few days from the 7th to the 26th of October, 1793, when the new calendar was being put into operation as pointed out in the text above. It is true, however, that all dates except the republican were later prohibited under the Directory. To this end, on September 23, 1797, or over six months before the *Moniteur* dropped the "old style" dates, the Council of the Five Hundred ordered the formation of a special commission to prepare the necessary measures. *Moniteur*, Sept. 27, 1797. These measures were not finally adopted by the Council of Elders until the session of the 23d fructidor, year 6 (September 9, 1798). *Moniteur*, Sept. 12, 1798.

[44] During the period under review, this paper was published under three different titles. The first was *Nouvelles Extraordinaires de Divers Endroits*. May 11, 1798, it was changed to *Nouvelles Politiques*, and again to *Journal Politique* on October 23, 1804. It is generally known as the *Gazette de Leyde*.

May 4, 1798, but up to that time it was a conspicuous part of the heading. The years of "Liberté Batave" practically coincided with the years of the old calendar and appeared without a break down to the last number of the seventh year, December 29, 1801. The Republican Calendar was not adopted, but beginning with the "Supplément" of May 18, 1798, the section devoted to news of Paris (and this was occasionally true of news from some other places) carried both the Republican and Gregorian dates in the following form: "Extrait des Nouvelles de Paris jusqu'au 23. Floréal (12. Mai)." The restoration of the Gregorian Calendar brought this practice to an end. Its last occurrence was in the issue of January 7, 1806, bringing Paris news down to "10. Nivôse (31. Décembre)".

Another point has to do with the duration of the second year of the Republic in France. From January, 1793, down to October 5 everything had been dated "second year of the Republic". But the new calendar declared that the second year began September 22, 1793. Consequently, until a year from that day the "second year of the Republic" would continue to be the proper dating. Although the decree of January 2, 1793, was repealed and all acts from January 1 to September 22 declared to be "regarded as belonging to the first year of the Republic", the documents themselves could not be redated. They still carry their original dating, and the second year of the Republic, given a new lease of life by the decree of October 5, staggered on through the Terror and the Thermidorian reaction down to September 22, 1794. Can so long or so crowded a year be found elsewhere in history?

In spite of the decision that the months and the days of the new calendar should be designated by numbers, there was a general feeling that the scheme, at least as it worked out, was rather awkward. "The second day of the second month of the second year" seemed a clumsy and needless repetition. The suggestion of Fabre d'Églantine to name the days after plants and animals may also have had some influence. At any rate, the very next day, October 6, the Convention requested the committee of public instruction to study "the question relative to the naming of the days of the *décade*". The committee accordingly took up the matter in its meetings on the 7th and 12th of the same month. In the session of October 18 their suggestions were presented to the Convention, which turned them over to a special commission consisting of Chénier, David, Fabre d'Églantine, and Romme for further examination and report.[45] Out of the labors of this special commission, of which we know compara-

[45] *P.-v. du Com. d'Instr. Pub.*, II. 588, 595, 609, 625, 626.

tively little, grew the plan which was reported to the Convention on October 24 by Fabre d'Églantine.[46]

The aim of the commission, according to the report, was "to substitute for visions of ignorance the realities of reason, and for sacerdotal prestige the truth of nature"; to exalt "the agricultural system . . . by marking the days and the divisions of the year with intelligible or visible signs taken from agriculture and rural life". In the choice of names for the months which were first submitted, the "imitative harmony of the language" was also to be employed. Thus the names selected for "the autumn months have a solemn tone and a moderate rhythm, those of winter a heavy tone and a slow rhythm, those of spring a gay tone and a lively rhythm, and those of summer a full tone and a broad rhythm". The proposed names were as follows:

Autumn	Winter	Spring	Summer
Vendémiaire	Nivôse	Germinal	Messidor
Brumaire	Pluviôse	Floréal	Thermidor
Frimaire	Ventôse	Prairial	Fructidor

The number principle was retained in naming the days of the *décade*. In place of the common French form, however, was the following: "Primdi,[47] Duodi, Tridi, Quartidi, Quintidi, Sextidi, Septidi, Octidi, Nonidi, Décadi." To supplant the saints' days of the old calendar a rather elaborate scheme was devised. The days of the year were to be named for the "true treasures of rural life". Every *quintidi* was inscribed to a domestic animal and each *décadi* to some farming implement, while all the intervening days were named for "grains, fields, trees, roots, flowers, fruits, plants". The plants, fruits, etc., were assigned to days when they would be in season; the animals to days when they would be of "real utility"; and the implements to days when they should be used. The five additional days

[46] For what little we know of the work of this special commission see the editor's note in the *P.-v. du Com. d'Instr. Pub.*, II. 693, 694. The text of the report of Fabre d'Églantine, together with a table of the new calendar by days, *décades*, and months for the year II., is printed in the same work (II. 697–713). The text of the report without the table is also printed in the *Moniteur* for December 18, 1793.

[47] The form *primdi* instead of the commonly accepted *primidi* is found not only in the report of Fabre d'Églantine but also in the tables annexed to the *procès-verbal* (*Procès-verbal de la Convention*, XXIV. 76–88) and in the law of November 24, 1793, as given in the *Moniteur* for December 18, 1793. In the text of this same law, however, as recorded in the *Procès-verbal de la Convention* (XXVI. 69), the spelling is *primedi*. Although not official, the form *primidi* prevailed in the end.

to complete the year and the sixth of leap year were to be known collectively as *sansculottides*. The five were to be dedicated in order to festivals of "Virtue, Genius, Labor, Opinion, Rewards". The added day of leap year was to be known as *la Sansculottide* and set apart for the celebration of national games. This report of the commission was accepted by the Convention with but the single amendment noted. It formed an important addition to the new calendar, and along with the other measures previously adopted was incorporated with slight modifications in the definitive law of November 24, 1793.[48]

The success or failure of a project is largely determined by the circumstances under which it develops. In this case they were not favorable. The demand for a reform of the calendar was neither unanimous nor even the desire of a majority in France.[49] It was initiated and carried through by a group of zealots who were in general actuated by two chief motives. The first was a legitimate desire to provide a more logical and effective system for the reckoning of time in which the triumphs of the Revolution would be commemorated. The second was undoubtedly a definite intention to reduce, if not to destroy, the influence of Christianity and the Catholic Church. Difficulties and opposition were bound to be encountered in the attempt to realize both objectives. The chief causes for the failure of the new calendar were inertia, the influence of custom upon

[48] In the report to the Convention, the five festivals were presented in the following order: "Genius, Labor, Deeds, Rewards, Opinion". Evidently taking the French word *Actions* to mean "Virtue" instead of "Deeds" as translated above, Robespierre demanded that "Virtue" be placed before "Genius". This amendment was admitted and the order changed to that given in the text above. See the extract from the *Anti-Fédéraliste*, no. 31, for October 26, 1793, as quoted in *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique*, II. 696; also the table annexed to the *procès-verbal* (*ibid.*, II. 713). The Convention's action providing that the various separate decrees on the new calendar be combined in one comprehensive measure was taken November 9, 1793. *Procès-verbal de la Convention*, XXV. 107, as quoted in *P.-v. du Com. d'Instr. Pub.*, II. 872. The text of this decree of 4 frimaire together with the "Instruction sur l'ère de la République, et sur la division de l'année, décrétée par la Convention nationale, pour être mise à la suite du décret" is reprinted in the *P.-v. du Com. de l'Instr. Pub.*, II. 873–887. The text of the decree is also printed in the *Moniteur*, December 18, 1793, while the "Instruction" appeared in the previous number.

[49] It is worth noting that the *Moniteur* returned to the system of double dating with its issue of December 21, 1802. A little over eight months before this, however, the practice was begun of substituting the day of the week for that of the *décade* in the date line. (See *Moniteur*, 28 germinal, an 10 [April 18, 1802], for first instance.) Exactly ten days prior to this change, the Concordat was proclaimed. With the reconciliation between Napoleon and the Church, the Republican Calendar was doomed, and by the law of September 9, 1805, the old calendar was restored January 1, 1806. *Moniteur*, Sept. 10, 1805.

those not definitely against it, and the determined hostility of those whose religious sensibilities it outraged. Villain was perhaps not far wrong when he wrote: "If religious passions had not come to lead all Catholics to resist the calendar, it is probable that the difficulties provoked would have been gradually overcome and that the Republican Calendar, which is certainly superior to the old one in many ways, would have ended by being adopted by all France." [50]

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[50] Étude sur le Calendrier Républicain, in *La Révolution Française*, VIII. 757.

THE FAMINE IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, 1847

Nous sommes la pauvre famille
Emigrant vers d'autres climats;
Nous n'emportons pour pacotille
Que notre courage et nos bras.

Henri Murger

DURING the first half of the nineteenth century, as everyone knows, an increasing stream of migrants flowed outward from the British Islands toward the United States and various British colonies. Of the latter, those in North America were the most accessible to the emigrant, and in several other ways the most attractive. Not only could they be reached with comparative cheapness and speed; but the return home at some more or less distant date seemed to be relatively easy. If the colony selected proved to be uncongenial, the El Dorado of the United States was close at hand, and the British American colonies were free from the stigma of convict transportation. In the 1840's the bulk of the immigration to British America was coming to Canada. When the decade was two-thirds over, circumstances arose which for the time being converted this normal and healthful infusion of population into a menace and a curse.

What is well known need not be labored. The European harvests were a partial failure in the growing seasons of 1845 and 1846, and these crop failures had a particularly disastrous effect in Ireland. The deficiency was especially severe as regards potatoes, and on that crop Ireland depended to an extent that is proverbial. Considering its resources, the Irish population was large, and therefore poor. A situation thus arose as serious as can well be imagined.[1] Starvation stared a large proportion of the inhabitants of the island in the face. Under the existing law no outdoor poor relief could be given, and the workhouses soon became full to overflowing.[2] Contemporary descriptions of conditions in Ireland could easily be multiplied—one or two will suffice. One observer wrote: "The future prospect is frightful. . . . Our Union Workhouse has 160 beyond its number compressed within its walls."[3] We hear of people who subsisted for

[1] See George O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine*, pt. 1, ch. III.

[2] *Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends during the Famine in Ireland, in 1846 and 1847*, pp. 13–14.

[3] Extract of an undated letter from Mr. Herd, a magistrate of County Cork, to Captain Stawell [?]. Grey Emigration Papers, 1823–1850.

two years on such food as turnips and nettle tops, with sometimes a little corn. The latter had been shipped into Ireland as an emergency ration, and was by no means popular. The government was far from being indifferent to Ireland's plight. Anyone seeking information on this point should look at the statute books for the years 1846, 1847, and 1848, which are full of Irish famine legislation. The calamity was mitigated by official action, but was very far from being wholly relieved. In these critical circumstances the thoughts of many of the famine victims turned toward flight from the ills that beset them. In the winter of 1846 an official in Ireland wrote: "One thing is certain, the whole face of the Country is waste and the people, those that can, are preparing, as soon as the Spring opens, to emigrate to America. . . ." [4]

So there began a *sauve qui peut*—a wholesale emigration that was eventually to reduce the population of Ireland by about forty per cent. More than one-half of this emergency emigration went to the United States. Most of the remainder went to the British North American colonies, especially Canada. It is with this last portion that we must now deal. Statistical tables [5] reveal the fact that nearly all of the excess emigration from the British Islands in the year 1847 went to North America. Of these emigrants some forty-five per cent. went to British colonies, approximately thirty-five going to Canada. Excepting in the case of British North America, emigration steadily increased after 1847. The North American colonies experienced a high tide of immigration in the year 1847, followed by greatly diminished totals in subsequent years. The Canadian total for 1847 was prodigious considering the size of the colony. Nor was the problem

[4] Extract of a letter written by a certain commissariat clerk, Hughes, dated Dec. 18, 1846. Grey Emigration Papers, 1823–1850.

[5]

Table I. Migration from Great Britain and Ireland, in the period from 1844 to 1849 inclusive.

Year	Destination				Total
	British North America	United States	Australia and New Zealand	All Other Places	
1844.....	22,924	43,660	2,229	1,873	70,686
1845.....	31,803	58,538	830	2,330	93,501
1846.....	43,439	82,239	2,347	1,826	129,851
1847.....	109,680	142,154	4,949	1,487	258,270
1848.....	31,065	188,233	23,904	4,887	248,089
1849.....	41,367	219,450	32,191	6,490	299,498
Total..	280,278	734,274	66,450	18,893	1,099,895

These figures from *Census of the Canadas, 1851–1852*, II. 7.

quantitative only, since the immigrants of the year 1847 were probably the most diseased, destitute, and shiftless that Canada has ever received. In one important respect statistical tables are misleading. Of the total number of immigrants shown as coming from England in 1847, more than 21,000, or roughly three-quarters, were from Liverpool. Nearly all of these, that is to say about 20,000, were Irish.[6] This increases the Irish total to about 70,000, or approximately seventy-eight per cent. of the whole. As the Irish emigration at that time had very special characteristics, this fact is not without importance.

At the time, the charge was widely made that Poor Law Unions and landlords in Ireland, actuated by wholly selfish motives, forced great numbers of people to leave the country. It may be supposed that landlords sometimes found it cheaper to "shovel out" some of their excess dependents than to assume responsibility for them at home, and acted accordingly. In the opinion of Lord Grey's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, whatever that may be worth, such action was exceptional. "No emigration", they said, "could have been more thoroughly spontaneous."[7] There is evidence that some landlords, with the best of intentions, desired to find a home beyond the sea for obviously redundant laborers. The government, as we shall see, did practically nothing to encourage or assist the exodus from Ireland.

Conditions on the emigrant ships were bad at the best, and at the

[5] (cont'd) Table II. The number of migrants arriving at Quebec, in the period from 1844 to 1849 inclusive.

Year	Origin					Total
	England	Ireland	Scotland	Germany	Lower Ports, etc.	
1844..	7,698	9,993	2,234	—	217	20,142
1845..	8,833	14,208	2,174	—	160	25,375
1846..	9,163	21,409	1,645	896	—	32,753
1847..	28,725	50,360	3,628	7,437	—	90,150
1848..	6,034	16,582	3,086	1,395	842	27,939
1849..	8,980	23,126	4,984	436	968	38,494
Total	69,433	135,678	17,751	10,164	2,187	234,853

These figures from the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, XIII. 304.

On the subject of the migration statistics of the period, see also Frances Morehouse, The Irish Migration of the 'Forties, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII. 579–592.

[6] Annual Emigration Report of 1847, enclosed with Elgin to Grey, no. 43, of Apr. 20, 1848. Colonial Office Records, series 42, volume 550.

[7] Report of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, *Accounts and Papers* (Command no. 50), 1847–1848, XLVII. 32.

worst almost beggar description. Vessels were bound by law to furnish a pound of bread daily to each passenger; but emigrants were supposed to provide themselves with food to supplement this, and in ordinary years they appear to have done so. Destitute people, however, fleeing from famine, often had but little food to bring on board with them. Of some of the emigrant ships morbid and sordid tales in plenty could be told which would recall the more famous and terrible hardships of the Middle Passage. Such things were to some extent characteristic of the time, and not wholly confined to the year 1847. Overcrowding and entire lack of sanitation were common, the supply of food and clothing was often inadequate, and worse than mere discomfort was disease.

The Apocalyptic Horsemen are accustomed to ride together. Early in the famine, cholera had made its appearance in Ireland, and conditions on ships overcrowded with undernourished passengers were probably ideal for its propagation. Those ships coming from uninfected ports were free from disease, while on board even the best ships sailing from infected ports the plague was rife.[8]

The quarantine station in the St. Lawrence at Grosse Isle, a few miles below Quebec, was thus described by an observer a few years before: "The rocky isle in front, with its neat farm-houses at the eastern point, and its high bluff at the western extremity, crowned with the telegraph—the middle space occupied by tents and sheds for the cholera patients, and its wooded shores dotted over with motley groups—added greatly to the picturesque effect of the land scene." The rapid influx of immigrants in the spring of 1847 speedily caused the island to become overcrowded,[9] and those not obviously infected were sent on up the river in order to make room for more. Many subsequently contracted the disease or spread it along their path and

[8] Table III. Average mortality rates at sea and in quarantine, among migrants to Canada during the year 1847, in percentages.

Rate for adults	7.21
Rate for all migrants, including children	8.84
Rate for migrants from England, excluding Liverpool, less than	1.00
Rate for migrants from Liverpool	15.39
Rate for migrants from Scotland	3.12
Rate for migrants from Ireland	7.86
Rate for migrants from Germany	1.26

The above figures are taken from the Annual Report of H. M.'s Chief Agent for the Superintendence of Emigration in Canada. Enclosed with Elgin to Grey, no. 43, of Apr. 20, 1848.

[9] Even in more normal times this establishment had not escaped criticism. Lord Durham's *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (ed. Sir C. P. Lucas, II. 137) refers to the "defects of the quarantine station at Grosse Isle . . . ".

the quarantine station was merely the worst plague spot. Dr. Douglas, the medical officer at Grosse Isle, thus described the disease stricken Irish immigrants arriving from Cork and Liverpool: "I never saw people so indifferent to life; they would continue in the same berth with a dead person until the seamen or captain dragged out the corpse with boat-hooks. Good God! What evils will befal the cities wherever they alight." [10] Captain Boxer, an officious but trustworthy man, who visited Grosse Isle in the latter part of May, reported that the immigrants there were starving. In August the health authorities at Quebec expressed a fear that when winter came numbers of the sick Grosse Isle immigrants would be left on their hands.

In this fashion then, during that baleful year 1847, there poured into Canada the most polluted as well as relatively the most swollen stream of immigration in the history of that country. The chief emigration agent, A. C. Buchanan, reported that the "character of the Emigration to Canada in 1847, was exceedingly unfavourable. The large proportion of Irish which it comprehended, and the state of destitution in which the greater part of these people had embarked, presented features of inconceivable misery on their arrival in this country . . . ." [11] Another contemporary observer reports that: "As a general rule, the English, Scotch, and north of Ireland men make much better and more independent colonists than emigrants from the south of Ireland." [12] The chief emigration agent for Upper Canada, A. B. Hawke, stated in the autumn of 1847 that "More than three-fourths of the immigrants this year have been Irish, diseased in body, and belonging generally to the lowest class of unskilled labourers. Very few of them are fit for farm servants . . . ." [13] Gibbon Wakefield thought the Irish poor settlers, "who never colonize, but only emigrate miserably". [14] It may be noted that the German immigration of 1847, very limited in quantity, was of the highest quality and free from disease, and it would be interesting to know why the revolutions of 1848 did not visibly affect the emigration shown in Table II. above.

[10] *Accounts and Papers*, 1847–1848, XLVII. 5.

[11] Buchanan's Annual Report for 1847, enclosed with Elgin to Grey, no. 43, of Apr. 20, 1848. C. O., ser. 42, vol. 550.

[12] Major Samuel Strickland, *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West*, I. 138.

[13] A. B. Hawke to the Civil Secretary, Sept. 20, 1847, *Accounts and Papers*, 1847–1848, XLVII. 19.

[14] E. Gibbon Wakefield, *View of the Art of Colonization*, p. 456. Wakefield, however, was outrageously prejudiced. He refers to them elsewhere (p. 180) as "the careless, lazy, slovenly, dirty, whining, quarrelsome, Saxon-hating, Irish pauper emigrants".

The colonists were not aware of the danger until it was close upon them. On May 7, 1847, Lord Elgin reported to the colonial secretary that the "prevalent feeling here is one of alarm lest it [immigration] s'd be excessive this season: and lest disease should follow in its train".[15] But the home government, although after the fall of Peel in June, 1846, it did not suffer from what M. Maurois calls "la panique légumineuse", had nevertheless for a considerable time been well aware of the problem about to confront mother country and colonies alike. In December, 1846, the prime minister sent a prophetic warning to the lord lieutenant. "Those who are eager for emigration on a large scale", he wrote, "should recollect that the colonies cannot be prepared at once to receive large masses of helpless beings, and there is no use in sending them from starving in Skibbereen to starve at Montreal."[16] The governing authorities in England were very doctrinaire, and the effect of this was to paralyze action. The theories which bore on the case were *laissez-faire* and the colonization gospel according to Gibbon Wakefield. Lord Grey therefore adopted an attitude that was mainly though not wholly negative. It was suggested that the famine sufferers might receive government assistance to emigrate. "The Government", said Grey, "cannot undertake to convey Emigrants to Canada because if it were to do so, if we were even to undertake to pay part of the cost, an enormous expense would be thrown upon the Treasury, and after all more harm than good would be done." He thought that it would undermine the morale of the assisted emigrants, and that "some 150,000 would have to be spent in doing that which if we do not interfere will be done for nothing".[17] He also urged the same policy on Elgin. Times have changed, and our more humane age has other ways of doing things. It is therefore very much easier to criticize than to appreciate Lord Grey's position. Gibbon Wakefield, who was a bitter and uncontrolled man and who hated Grey, spoke shortly afterward of "the infinite superiority of systematic emigration to that 'spontaneous' scramble which Lord Grey now applauds, and which often afflicting Canada with malignant fever, necessitates a lazaretto on the St Lawrence . . .".[18] But this was unfair, and ungrateful also, for, when it was written, a year after the event, Lord Grey had suffered much for Wakefield's sake.

[15] Elgin to Grey, May 7, 1847, Private Correspondence.

[16] Lord John Russell to Lord Bessborough, Dec. 29, 1846. G. P. Gooch, *The Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell, 1840–1878*, I. 168.

[17] Extract of a letter from Lord Grey to Sir George Grey, Nov. 16, 1846, Grey Emigration Papers, 1823–1850.

[18] Wakefield, p. 415.

In the colony, men took a somewhat more pragmatic view of the situation. The provincial governments of this period were, in contrast to those in London, noticeably undoctrinaire. They were also less experienced in this particular matter, for the Imperial government had but recently faced and was still facing a similar problem, but one more acute and on a far larger scale, in the case of Ireland itself. The colonial authorities undertook fairly extensive relief measures, which were haphazard and not well thought out. Sickness and destitution offered two separate problems, and as always in such crises the measures required were partly of an immediate and partly of a more permanent nature.

Steps were taken in May to make use of military tents in order to provide shelter for the quarantined immigrants on Grosse Isle. A considerable number of so-called "Flanders" tents, each accommodating about twelve men, were erected on the island by the military authorities. In July further tents were asked for, which the military expressed their inability to provide. Friction always developed with comparative ease between the civil and military authorities in the colony. In the autumn, according to the ordnance authorities, the tents were so dirty "that the persons in the employment of the Department are unwilling to wash, or even touch them . . . ". The civil authorities promised to have the tents washed. In the spring of 1848 some of the latter were still in use.[19]

A not very important attempt was also made to bring chemistry to the rescue. A certain Colonel Calvert persuaded Lord Grey of the efficacy of a disinfecting fluid that he had, for dealing with the epidemic.[20]

Destitute immigrants crowded into the towns. In some of the larger places conditions were very serious, and attempts were made to organize private relief. In May the citizens of Montreal, actuated no doubt by mixed motives of philanthropy and self-preserva-

[19] All the necessary information in regard to these ordnance tents can be found in the Correspondence of the Civil Secretary, nos. 4673, 4733, 4782, 4801, and 4950.

[20] The 'Decline and Fall' of Colonel Calvert can best be told in quotation marks, from Grey's private letters to Elgin:

July 19, 1847, "The reports of its efficacy in destroying infection are really wonderful . . . ."

Aug. 3, "I . . . regret . . . that that pottering blockhead Col. Calvert contrived to lose his passage by the steamer with the disinfecting fluid."

Dec. 3, "I am very sorry indeed to hear of more deaths by the emigrant fever, and that Col. Calvert is among those who have caught it. I hope poor man he may recover, tho' I begin to fear he is somewhat of a Charlatan. What is your opinion of the value of his fluid?"

Aug. 10, 1848, " . . . I think a gratuity of £100 . . . to the widow of Colonel Calvert w'd be very well bestowed."

tion, organized a committee to deal with the situation in that city. They expressed a fear that disease "soon will be amongst us to carry death into the bosoms of our families without precautionary measures are timely resorted to, to prevent the evil".[21] Their fears were justified. "A day scarcely passes", reported the Montreal *Weekly Pilot* a few weeks later, "without the intelligence reaching us of the death of some valuable and useful clergyman, some public-spirited and humane citizen, or some experienced and skillful captain of a vessel or steam boat." The unfortunate immigrants tended to remain in the larger cities and towns, and the problem was a difficult one. Work could not be provided for them there, yet many had not sufficient money to enable them to proceed further. Nor was it always easy for them to get work even in the countryside. Apart from their ability or otherwise as farm laborers, the country people were afraid of them—"the doors of the farmhouses", wrote the governor-general, "are closed even against those who are reputed to be free from taint". A settler in the Peterborough district wrote: "The typhus fever and dysentery have reached even this remote place. Wherever those wretched immigrants came they brought with them sickness and death. Some of the members of the board of health have already fallen under its malignant influence. . . ."[22] A. B. Hawke, the emigration agent in Upper Canada, was fairly optimistic in June; ". . . we are getting on better—*much* better than I expected . . . ".[23] But later his tone changed somewhat.

A problem similar to the one in Montreal, but less acute, arose in Toronto, where a citizens' immigration committee was also formed. The attempt to keep the immigrants moving out of the town as rapidly as possible seems to have been fairly successful, for we learn that by the middle of July, out of a total of sixteen or seventeen thousand emigrants that had arrived in the town during the season, there were only 238 remaining. The local board of health reported the following year that during the 1847 season, 38,560 immigrants came into the town, of which number 35,650 were sent on. Of the remainder more than 1100 died.[24] During the next two years, cases of cholera were not uncommon in Toronto.

More systematic and uniform *ad hoc* arrangements for dealing with the crisis were made by the Provincial government. There

[21] Montreal Immigrant Committee to His Excellency, May 21, 1847, Correspondence of the Civil Secretary, no. 4670.

[22] Frances Stewart, *Our Forest Home*, p. 218.

[23] Hawke to the Civil Secretary, June 29, 1847, Correspondence of the Civil Secretary, no. 4722.

[24] Report of an immigrant relief meeting in the Toronto *Globe*, July 17, 1847. Report of the Toronto Board of Health, dated Feb. 2, 1848 (copy in C. O., ser. 42, vol. 549).

were no local rates to fall back upon, for ordinarily pauperism was practically unknown.[25] And so, early in June, arrangements were made for the setting up of a number of local boards of health. The corporation in each case was to appoint a board consisting of its own members. The board so constituted was authorized to draw up sanitary regulations, and to let contracts for bread and meat. A ration of three-quarters of a pound of bread and as much meat per adult, and of two-thirds of the amount for each child, could be issued to deserving immigrants for a period not to exceed six days in any one case. The corporation was to provide a hospital, and sheds for the healthy immigrants, and to appoint an attendant physician. The Provincial government undertook to see that the bill was paid. Twenty-eight corporations were authorized to establish such boards.[26]

Evidently the corporations and boards were given too free a hand, and arrangements were not sufficiently uniform. The scheme was defective in that the boards were appointed by one authority in order to spend money derived from another. Buchanan recommended some surveillance over the boards, and on September 3, Hawke set out on a tour of inspection. Before starting, he asked for and received authority to close some of the boards, suggesting that half the existing number would be enough. Two weeks later he informed the civil secretary that he had taken steps to close half the boards and had examined the accounts of many of them. He hinted that there had been extravagance and dishonesty. By the end of October most of the boards had been closed, and thus late in the season the crisis was greatly diminished, for that year at least.

The boards of health were far from superfluous, for there was obviously dire need of relief measures on an extensive scale. Nor had much time been given for careful consideration of the problem. Organized as the boards were they could hardly be other than wasteful. The six-day limit on the supply of free food, on the other hand, seems anything but recklessly extravagant. Hawke, however, like Lord Grey, feared lest the provision of free assistance might demoralize the recipients thereof. In our age of lavish government relief of the poor, sick, and unemployed, what was then done in the province seems moderate enough; but to many contemporaries it did not seem so. Moreover, who even now can trace with precision

[25] Durham's *Report* (II. 92) refers to the absence of local authority in the American colonies as a pronounced defect.

[26] On the subject of these emergency boards of health, see the documents contained in Correspondence of the Civil Secretary, nos. 4770 and 4804, of which these are the most important: Civil Secretary to Hawke, Aug. 25, 1847 (copy); enclosure in above, copy of circular authorizing the establishment of board of health; Hawke to Civil Secretary, Aug. 27, 1847; Hawke to Civil Secretary, Sept. 20, 1847; Hawke to Civil Secretary, Oct. 16, 1847. See also no. 4765.

a safe and certain middle road between *laissez-faire* callousness and demoralizing generosity? Out of the whole story of the panic immigration of 1847 the fact emerges clearly that public opinion, besides being far more nervous of paternalistic government action than it now is, was also less imaginative and sensitive in regard to human suffering. Those who have carefully studied the modern humanitarian movement would probably agree that this is so. Public opinion in the colony was actuated to a much greater extent by fear than by compassion in its attitude toward the unfortunate immigrants of 1847.

The expenses which resulted from the swollen immigration of that year were very considerable. In the province, the crisis being acute and close at hand, theories, if anyone had any, had gone by the board, and much money had been spent. The government had intervened on a considerable scale.[27]

[27] The following table supplies the financial background of the problem:

Immigration expenses and receipts, season of 1847.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
EXPENDITURES:						
1. Sheds and Fittings: Montreal	15,914	17	5			
Quebec	1,120	0	0			
Grosse Isle	10,609	11	7	27,644	9	0
2. Transportation of Immigrants inland, etc.:						
To agent at Quebec	31,502	4	5			
To agent in Upper Canada	14,450	0	0	45,952	4	5
3. Boards of Health in Canada East and West	68,220	19	7	68,220	19	7
4. Quarantine	15,465	17	6	15,465	17	6
Total Expenditure				157,283	10	6

	£	s.	d.	
RECEIPTS:				
1. Emigration Tax	19,002	9	2	
2. From Military Chest £30,000 stg. less £9,500 stg. retained by Commissary General for expenses defrayed by him	20,500	0	0	stg.
3. Amount placed by Home Government to credit of Province in Bank of England on Dec. 31, 1847	25,000	0	0	stg.
£45,500 sterling =	55,358	6	8	currency
Total Receipts	74,360	15	10	
Excess of Expenditures over Receipts	82,922	14	8	

These figures are from statements signed by the deputy inspector general of the province. Correspondence of the Civil Secretary, no. 4985.

The immigrant sheds referred to in the expense accounts were for the purpose of affording temporary quarters to the new arrivals in the places where they most did congregate. The great aim of the service was to keep the immigrants moving as rapidly as possible away from the towns and toward the farms. In normal years the expense of the immigration service had mainly been incurred in the process of forwarding from the ports to the interior those who were unable to pay their own way.

Under the existing law,[28] the colony levied a tax of five shillings currency per head on all immigrants. The Imperial government was accustomed to make an annual contribution of between £1500 and £2500 toward the immigration expenses of the colony. Ordinarily the revenue thus obtained served to defray the cost of the service. The unusual volume and character of the 1847 immigration, however, had thrown everything out of adjustment. The tax had sufficed to pay less than one-eighth of the expense. It is an innate characteristic of bills to require payment, and the question very quickly arose as to who was going to do the paying.

Early in 1847 the treasury authorized certain payments to be made from the commissariat chest. But the Provincial government from the beginning adopted the point of view that the whole extra expense occasioned by the immigration of that extraordinary year should be borne by the home government. Indeed, speaking in general, it may fairly be said that an abiding faith in the Imperial treasury, and an instant readiness to plead for help from that source, were part of the provincial point of view. In its position in this matter the Canadian government was fairly well supported by the governor-general, whose opinion invariably was that the spiritual bonds of empire were in no wise to be weighed in the balance against mere money. A memorandum dated June 25, 1847, requested the governor-general to bring the matter of immigration expenses to the attention of the home government, and expressed a fear that "our Public revenues will have to be drawn upon to an extent that the Province cannot afford".[29] Three days later, Elgin informed Grey unofficially that "the Provincial Govt. are doing all they can to mitigate their [the immigrants'] sufferings. Indeed, I think they are much more likely to exceed than to fall short in this matter, for all parties have a strong conviction that whatever they advance on this account will be reimbursed by the Imperial Treasury. In acknowledging the receipt of the memorandum from my Council which I

[28] 4 and 5 Victoria, c. 13 (Provincial).

[29] There are two copies of this memorandum in Correspondence of the Civil Secretary, no. 4708.

have sent you officially I think it w'd be well if you were to take occasion to impress upon me the necessity of caution and economy in administering relief ". A petition to the throne, dated July 6, was sent by the legislative council of the province, asking that help be given by the Imperial government.[30]

On August 13, Lord Elgin unburdened himself in a long letter to Lord Grey setting forth his views on the whole question.[31] He attacked what was at that time Grey's position that only the minimum of governmental assistance should be given, and that such assistance as there was should be financed mainly or entirely from the Provincial treasury. Elgin thought that since the British colonies, as such, could not exclude the immigrants, some compensation was due. He emphasized the unusual and desperate character of the situation, and felt that ordinary theories and practices would not suffice. Since, moreover, the pauper immigrants could not be left to die in the streets, there had been no alternative but an expenditure of public funds. To the argument that since the province would reap the ultimate advantage from immigration, it ought to pay the cost thereof, Elgin replied that the colonists would have shut out the "advantageous" immigration if they could. He admitted that a system whereby the Provincial government would spend the Imperial government's money would be unsatisfactory, encouraging wastefulness. Characterizing as unfair the argument that emigration to the United States cost Great Britain nothing, he concluded: "It is a case in which on every account I think the Imperial Government is bound to act liberally."

A further call for help was sent to the governor-general by his executive council.[32] It was stated that "the Receiver General has no means of meeting further Warrants for the payment of the Immigration and Quarantine expenses, unless Your Excellency can afford relief by drawing on the Imperial Treasury". Upon one occasion, too, at about this time, William Cayley, the provincial inspector general, mentioned to Lord Elgin the possibility of having to call into play the Imperial Guarantee,[33] the provincial funds being exhausted. By the end of September the Provincial government was over £35,000 in arrears on the immigration account, and it either would not or could not resort to additional taxation. The Bank of Montreal advanced the necessary amount, and the Imperial government

[30] *Accounts and Papers*, 1847–1848, XLVII. 10.

[31] Elgin to Grey, Aug. 13, 1847, Private Correspondence.

[32] Memorandum dated Aug. 20, 1847 (copy in Correspondence of the Civil Secretary, no. 4760).

[33] In 1842, by 5 and 6 Victoria, c. 118, the Imperial government had guaranteed the interest at 4 per cent. on a £1,500,000 provincial loan for public works.

was asked for £40,000 or £50,000 wherewith to meet the deficit. Elgin reënforced this plea in a dispatch of October 9.[34] Grey replied that £20,000 had been placed at the disposal of the colony, and that the balance, about £15,000, it was easily within the power of the province to pay. Elgin returned undaunted to the attack. "I do not see", he wrote, "how Great Britain can refuse to make good to the Province what she has expended in this [immigration] service during the current year. But for the future if Canada be permitted to enact such laws to guard herself against the evils of a pauper and diseased Immigration as she may see fit, I think the Mother Country may very properly decline to advance anything on this account."[35] Early in the following year, Lord Grey was able to announce that £25,000 had been placed to the credit of the province in the Bank of England, as an advance in aid of immigration expenses. Yet the colonial secretary still rejected the idea of the Imperial government assuming responsibility for the whole of the Canadian immigration deficit, and suggested that Great Britain might pay one-half.

Later in the spring of the same year the home government abandoned its position, and Elgin was so informed in a dispatch dated April 14, 1848.[36] Therein it was stated that in view of the exceptional character of the calamity, the government "are anxious that on this occasion the Province should not suffer pecuniary loss in consequence of the distress which reached it from this Kingdom. We are therefore prepared to recommend that Parliament should make provision for the expense which has been incurred so far as to relieve the province entirely from any charge on account of the peculiar misfortunes of the year 1847." In future, however, in order to avoid confusion and extravagance, and since a repetition of the crisis was scarcely to be feared, the province was to have entire control of and responsibility for the immigration service. The customary annual grant by the Imperial government would be continued. The dispatch promised that, with the consent of the Canadian government, the Imperial government would take the necessary steps to have payment made, and the consent of the Provincial government was likely to be forthcoming. A considerable sum was paid to the province forthwith. In the middle of May the provincial inspector general proposed a payment of £50,000. Six weeks later Lord Grey acknowledged the receipt of the proposal, and stated that the amount asked for had been deposited to the credit of the province

[34] Elgin to Grey, no. 90, of Oct. 9, 1847, *Accounts and Papers*, 1847–1848, XLVII. 17.

[35] Elgin to Grey, Dec. 24, 1847, Private Correspondence.

[36] Grey to Elgin, no. 197, Apr. 14, 1848.

in the Bank of England.[37] Thus generously did the home government assume the whole weight of the financial burden.

Public opinion in the colony was, not without reason, stirred by the events of the year 1847. Lord Elgin reported that an "Immigrant with a shaven head is an object of terror in this neighbourhood". In June, 1847, the Provincial legislative assembly petitioned that conditions for immigration be improved, and that it be done at the expense of the Imperial government.[38] A somewhat similar petition was addressed to the throne, bearing the signature of the mayor of Montreal. As so often in such cases, a large share of the blame was attributed to the government—in this instance the Imperial government. Many wild and exaggerated statements were made. Papineau hastened to the rescue with a generalization, the great merit of which lay in its simplicity. He spoke thus of Ireland in the Bonsecours Market in Montreal, "Un quart de sa surface est inculte, parce qu'elle n'a jamais eu un gouvernement national".[39] Public opinion against immigration, when at its height in and soon after 1847, almost always failed to distinguish between undesirable, excessive immigration and a normal and healthy influx of population like an infusion of fine new blood, which Canada, like all young colonies, needed so badly. It may very well be that the religion of the great majority of the immigrants strengthened the feeling against them in the English speaking parts of the colony, but there seems to be no evidence to this effect.

The misfortunes of the year 1847 were not destined to be repeated. The chief emigration agent was able to make this statement at the close of the ensuing year: "The Emigration of 1848, so far as health and condition are concerned, bears a most favourable comparison with that of 1847."[40] This report gave the percentage of deaths on shipboard and in quarantine as 1.35 per cent. In the previous year the rate had been 8.84 per cent. A considerable proportion of all legislation, however, consists in closing the stable door. Both the home and Provincial governments sought to take some precautionary measures for the future, lest by chance a second and similar calamity befall. In England an interesting report on the whole subject was made at the colonial secretary's request.[41] The commissioners were not sanguine on the subject of remedial legis-

[37] Grey to Elgin, no. 241, June 30, 1848.

[38] *Accounts and Papers*, 1847–1848, XLVII. 7.

[39] *L'Avenir*, Apr. 19, 1848.

[40] Report enclosed with Elgin to Grey, no. 11, Jan. 17, 1849. C. O., ser. 42, vol. 557.

[41] Report of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, Nov. 20, 1847, *Accounts and Papers*, 1847–1848, XLVII. 31–39.

lation, and pointed out that British subjects could not be prevented from going from one part of Her Majesty's dominions to another. Their constructive suggestions were three in number—improved conditions on emigrant ships, a higher colonial emigration tax, and an increased tax in the case of ships held in quarantine. They recommended as a basic principle that it should be made the interest of shipowners to land immigrants in a healthy condition. These ideas were elaborated by Lord Grey in a dispatch of December 1, 1847. A provincial report also appeared, which drew the necessary distinction between good and bad immigration.[42] By an apparently undesigned coincidence the recommendations contained in the two reports were practically identical, and they were soon embodied in legislation.

The existing law was repealed, and replaced by a new one of March 23, 1848.[43] The new law increased the emigrant tax from five to ten shillings currency per head, and the tax was to be collected on all immigrants, irrespective of age or country of origin. This rate was to be increased by two shillings sixpence currency per head for each three days that the ship concerned might be detained in quarantine. The maximum tax on any one immigrant was not to exceed £1. Ships arriving after September 10 in any year were to be penalized. Provisions were made to discourage the immigration of the physically and mentally unfit, and something was done to improve the environment of the passengers. This law was passed when the immigration crisis was scarcely over, and the Imperial government, and probably the business men of the province also, considered it too drastic. A certain amount of radical opinion in the province, on the other hand, thought it not drastic enough. The newspaper, *L'Avenir,* made the following mournful prophecy in regard to the new law: "L'émigration de morts et de mourans qui, l'année dernière, est venue porter la peste sur nos bords, va se renouveller cette année, car la loi n'offre aucune disposition pour arrêter ces flots de pestiférés."[44] The following year a more moderate law was substituted.[45] The tax remained at ten shillings; yet the law established a kind of imperial preference in immigration, conforming to the wishes of the home government in this fairly important respect. Immigrants from the United Kingdom, coming with the sanction of the Imperial government, were to be admitted for two

[42] Extract of Report by Committee of the Executive Council of the Province, Correspondence of the Civil Secretary, no. 4873.

[43] 11 Victoria, c. 1 (Prov.).

[44] *L'Avenir,* Apr. 1, 1848.

[45] 12 Victoria, c. 6 (Prov.).

and sixpence a head less than the ordinary rate. Soldiers or pensioners and their families, coming out at the expense of the Imperial government, were to be admitted free.

The quarantine law was also changed in 1849. In the same year, moreover, a law was passed enabling the government to establish by proclamation local and central boards of health, and the law defined the nature, power, and duties of such boards. This law was to come into operation in the event that the province were again threatened by "any formidable epidemic, endemic or contagious disease".

The immigration of the year 1847 subjected the colony to a very severe strain, and that, too, at a time when its general economic situation was anything but satisfactory. The total population of the province in that year, as given in the official Blue Book, was just over 1,500,000. Of this million and a half, about one-half were English speaking, and it was to the areas inhabited by these latter that the immigrants mainly went. So 90,000 immigrants, among whom the proportion of destitute was extraordinarily high, landed almost without warning among a population of less than seventeen times their own number. Of these seventeen colonists per immigrant, nine bore the heavier part of the burden. It was, in proportion, somewhat as if in the year 1929 more than half a million immigrants, most of them poverty-stricken, and many of them diseased, had landed in the Dominion. Then, as now, a proportion went to the United States, while there were also some arrivals thence. There are no statistics to help us here. But there is good reason to think that in this period the population movements from Canada to the United States, and *vice versa,* came very close to balancing each other.[46] Qualitatively the United States got the best of the bargain in 1847, for they drew very heavily on the Germans, who were the cream of the immigrants of that year.

England has never had a more academically minded government than that of Lord John Russell from 1846 to 1852. It was also composed to some extent of devotees—missionaries of the gospel of *laissez-faire,* which was to them a panacea and could therefore be relied on to cure the manifold social and economic ailments occasioned by a potatoless Ireland. Probably the most doctrinaire man in the government was the colonial secretary. Yet if the influence of London was exerted against extensive relief measures in the colony, that influence was a brake on reckless and inconsistent action. The Imperial government much more accurately reflected the *Zeitgeist* than did its colonial counterpart. Such mistakes as it made, also, were well-intentioned, and its princely generosity in finally

[46] *Seventh Census of the United States,* pp. 120 and 132.

paying the bill serves pretty adequately to turn the edge of criticism. For the colonist, nevertheless, the famine immigration was a sore trial, and he must be pardoned if, in the midst of the crisis, the highly theoretical advice of the home government appeared to him to be a trifle too detached. Indeed, the case must have seemed to him very similar to that of Dr. Johnson's philosopher, who, when informed by a breathless neighbor that the latter's house was on fire, began to discourse calmly and with great erudition upon the nature and properties of flame. Had the province been an independent state in 1847, it would have had an indisputable right to exclude any or all immigration. Yet one may question whether in that case the right would have been exercised, since the United States, which was nobody's colony, did not exclude the famine immigration from its shores.

We have here also a good historical instance of the tendency which the public seems to have, to regard an economic problem as though it were a political one. The sovereign state could do nothing to prevent the potatoes from rotting, and political action could mitigate, but could not entirely relieve, the effects of the catastrophe. Famine relief on the necessary scale is an invention of our own century.

For those whose interest is mainly in things political, the whole episode is a fine illustration of the problems connected with the government of what a recent writer has called the "Second British Empire".

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Lincoln's First Inaugural Address

It has long been known[1] that the concluding paragraph of Lincoln's First Inaugural Address was based upon a paragraph written by William H. Seward, soon to become his Secretary of State; and Lincoln's revision of Seward's suggested conclusion has been justly praised.[2] It has not, however, I believe, been pointed out that Seward's paragraph (and to a certain extent Lincoln's) recalls, in both subject matter and phraseology, the concluding paragraph of Madison's well-known warning against the perils of disunion in number 14 of *The Federalist*.

In the original draft, Lincoln's address closed with the sentence: "With you, and not with me, is the solemn question of 'Shall it be peace or a sword?'" Seward suggested the omission of this passage, and he wrote out for Lincoln's consideration two separate concluding paragraphs, the second of which Lincoln utilized. Here are Seward's comments on the address:

> The argument is strong and conclusive, and ought not to be in any way abridged or modified.
>
> But something besides or in addition to the argument is needful—to meet and remove prejudice and passion in the South, and despondency and fear in the East.
>
> Some words of affection—some of calm and cheerful confidence.[3]

The first of Seward's suggested conclusions recalls—in idea, not in wording—Jefferson's First Inaugural and a passage in Seward's letter to Lincoln of February 24, 1861, in which he urges Lincoln to imitate Jefferson's procedure and to practice "the magnanimity of a victor".[4]

There is reason for thinking that Madison's passage was fresh in Seward's mind. Six weeks before sending Lincoln his suggestions in regard to the address, Seward had made a speech in the Senate on the State of the Union. George E. Baker, the editor of Seward's works, gives the following footnote on the fifth page of the printed speech: "The materials and even the form of this part of the argu-

[1] There is a very full discussion of Seward's suggestions for revision in Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: a History*, III. 319–343.

[2] See, for example, L. E. Robinson, *Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters*, pp. 144–145.

[3] Nicolay and Hay, III. 321.

[4] *Ibid.*, III. 320.

ment are drawn from the opening numbers of the Federalist."[5] The political situation in the winter of 1860–1861 must have caused many to recall Madison's warning, if no other passage in *The Federalist*. That Seward should turn back to the work of Madison and Hamilton for arguments for the Union, now on the point of disruption, seems just what one might expect. We may infer that six weeks after his speech in the Senate he had not entirely forgotten *The Federalist* when he came to revise Lincoln's address. I give below the paragraph of Seward's which became the basis of Lincoln's conclusion and beside it such parts of Madison's paragraph as seem echoed by Seward and, less plainly, by Lincoln.

Seward	Madison
I close. We are not, we must not be, aliens or enemies, but fellow-countrymen and brethren. Although passion has strained our bonds of affection too hardly, they must not, I am sure they will not, be broken. The mystic chords which, proceeding from so many battlefields and so many patriot graves, pass through all the hearts and all hearths in this broad continent of ours, will yet again harmonize in their ancient music when breathed upon by the guardian angel[6] of the nation.[7]	Hearken not to the unnatural voice which tells you that the people of America, knit together as they are by so many cords of affection, can no longer live together as members of the same family; can no longer continue the mutual guardians of their mutual happiness; can no longer be fellow-citizens of one great, respectable and flourishing empire. Hearken not to the voice which petulantly tells you that the form of government recommended for your adoption is a novelty in the political world; that it has never yet had a place in the theories of the wildest projectors; that it rashly attempts what it is impossible to accomplish. No, my countrymen, shut your ears against this unhallowed language. Shut your hearts against the poison which it conveys; the kindred blood which flows in the veins of American citizens, the mingled blood which they have shed in defense of their sacred rights, consecrate their Union, and excite horror at the idea of their becoming aliens, rivals, enemies.[8]

[5] *The Works of William H. Seward*, ed. George E. Baker, IV. 655.

[6] Lincoln adopted, with a change to the plural, a phrase, "better angel", which Seward had crossed out. See the facsimile in Nicolay and Hay opposite page 336, volume III.

[7] Nicolay and Hay, III. 343.

[8] *The Federalist*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford, p. 86.

If we did not know of Seward's recent use of *The Federalist*, we might perhaps regard the resemblances as due to coincidence or to the common stock of political phrases employed by contemporary writers and speakers. I do not think Seward was consciously imitating Madison, but stylistic influences are often unconscious. The verbal resemblances between the two passages are few, but the styles of the two men are so different that the similarity of certain phrases could hardly be due to mere coincidence. Seward's "aliens or enemies" seems an echo of Madison's "aliens, rivals, enemies"; and the latter's "cords of affection" probably suggested the former's "bonds of affection". The figure used in Seward's closing sentence, notably improved by Lincoln, is clearly his own. Perhaps Madison's phrase, "the kindred blood which flows in the veins of American citizens", finds an echo in Seward's "fellow-countrymen and brethren"; and perhaps Seward's allusion to "so many battlefields and so many patriot graves" owes something to Madison's "the mingled blood which they have shed in defense of their sacred rights".

The resemblance between Lincoln's[9] paragraph and Madison's is less striking, although I might add that a few weeks ago when I read Madison's essay for the first time, the conclusion immediately reminded me of Lincoln's famous conclusion, which should certainly be quoted in this connection.

> I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearth-stone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

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THE UNITED STATES AND HAWAII DURING THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

AT the outset of his administration, President Cleveland evidenced such strong opposition to the acquisition of Hawaii that the annexationists, both in Hawaii and in the United States, abandoned all hope of attaining their end while he was chief executive. On June 16, 1897, shortly after his inauguration, President McKinley submitted to the Senate a new treaty of annexation, which, although supported by a majority of the senators, was unable to command the

[9] The Cooper Union Speech makes it clear that Lincoln had made some study of the framing of the Constitution, but *The Federalist* is not among the books which, according to Herndon, Lincoln used in preparing his First Inaugural Address. See *Herndon's Lincoln: the True Story of a Great Life*, III. 478.

necessary two-thirds vote. When, almost a year later, war between the United States and Spain appeared imminent, this treaty, the ratification of which the Hawaiian officials themselves conceded to be virtually impossible,[1] was still before the Senate. In the event of an outbreak of hostilities, several courses lay open to the Hawaiian government: first, a proclamation of neutrality; second, silence and passivity; third, acquiescence in a war-time occupation of Hawaii by the United States; and fourth, active assistance to the United States.

A large and influential group in Hawaii, composed chiefly of royalists and foreigners, fearing property loss through Spanish reprisals or post-war claims, demanded an immediate proclamation of neutrality, even going so far as to urge foreign residents to appeal to their respective governments for protection.[2] The French commissioner at Honolulu stated his intention of joining the representatives of the other powers in action that would insure adequate protection of foreign residents in Hawaii, a kind of interference that the United States could not have viewed with equanimity.[3] The Hawaiian government, however, had no assurance that Spain would respect a declaration of neutrality. That nation could argue with considerable force that since Hawaii had officially consented to a treaty surrendering her sovereignty to the United States, she was, in spirit if not in fact, a part of the United States.[4] The Hawaiian officials agreed, moreover, that a positive stand for neutrality would be interpreted by the United States as nothing short of a slap in the face and would consequently ruin whatever chances remained of annexation, the specific end for which the existing Hawaiian government had been formed.[5]

For a time a policy of silence and passivity received some, although not very serious, consideration. Such a course, however objectionable, was preferable to avowed neutrality.[6] But with the outbreak of hostilities active measures were considered more desirable. To protect Hawaii until such time as annexation could be consummated and to secure to the United States the strategic advan-

[1] Hatch (Hawaiian minister to the United States) to Cooper (Hawaiian minister of foreign affairs), Apr. 14, 1898. All correspondence herein cited, unless otherwise noted, is to be found in the Archives of Hawaii.

[2] Honolulu *Independent*, Apr. 14, May 6, 9, 1898.

[3] Sewall to Sherman (confidential), Apr. 30, 1898, Department of State, Despatches, Hawaii, XXX.

[4] Hatch to Cooper, Apr. 14, 1898; Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 10, 1898.

[5] Cooper to Hatch, Mar. 30, 1898; Hatch to Cooper, Apr. 28, 1898; *Advertiser*, June 10, 1898.

[6] Cooper to Hatch, Mar. 30, 1898; Hatch to Cooper, May 4, 1898; *Advertiser*, June 10, 1898.

tages of the islands, a bill authorizing McKinley to use Hawaii for war purposes was drafted in Washington by Hawaiian officials and sent to Honolulu for approval.[7] Doubt as to the precise meaning of this measure, inability to discover whether it had the approval of the Washington administration, difference of opinion as to its constitutionality, from the standpoint of both the United States and Hawaii, and fear that such a step would permanently endanger annexation by permitting the United States in the future to assume control over the islands only when it was convenient and profitable for her to do so—all these objections aroused such serious opposition both in the Hawaiian cabinet and in the legislature that the bill was not even submitted to the latter body for approval.[8] The joint resolution subsequently introduced into Congress appeared to be a far more satisfactory substitute, although in the event of its failure to pass, it was thought that the President of the United States might find authority to use Honolulu for war purposes under the provisions of existing treaties. That McKinley entertained the idea of resorting to occupation by executive action as a last expedient is indicated by a statement of Henry Cabot Lodge, who, when the Senate minority was opposing the passage of the joint resolution, wrote: " . . . I do not believe the Senate can hold out very long, for the President has been very firm about it and means to annex the Islands any way. I consider the Hawaiian business as practically settled." [9]

The fourth possible course, and the one eventually adopted by the Hawaiian government, was the rendering of active assistance to the United States prior to and without any definite assurance of annexation. As a matter of fact, the government of Hawaii at no time favored neutrality and from the beginning of hostilities was eager to do anything within its power to aid the United States.[10] Nevertheless, there were several problems that had seriously to be considered before an actual proffer of assistance could be made. The oldest pro-annexation newspaper in the islands, although favoring an abandonment of neutrality, wondered how far " we the annexationists and the dominant power here, numbering a small percentage of the inhabitants have the right to push men, women, and children,

[7] *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1898.

[8] Sewall to Sherman, May 16, 1898, Department of State, Despatches, Hawaii, XXXI.; Cooper to Hatch, Mar. 30, 1898; Hatch to Cooper, Apr. 14, 1898; Cooper to Hatch, May 10, 1898; *Advertiser*, May 16, Dec. 24, 1898.

[9] Lodge to Roosevelt, June 15, 1898, in *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge* (ed. H. C. Lodge), I. 311.

[10] Undated holograph memorandum of Dole, probably written in January, 1899, and now in the possession of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii; Cooper to Hatch, May 10, 1898.

who largely outnumber us and do not agree with us, into the risks of war . . . ".[11] The Hawaiian government itself was chiefly puzzled to know whether outspoken adherence to the fortunes of the United States would embarrass that nation by increasing its war responsibilities. Not desiring to take any steps without ascertaining the wishes of the United States, President Dole addressed two dispatches to the Hawaiian minister at Washington, F. M. Hatch, instructing him to sound out McKinley, but before a reply was received, news of the outbreak of war came to Hawaii on May 7, 1898. On the following day, Dole, as a result of several conferences with his cabinet, sent a telegram requesting Hatch to discover what McKinley wanted the Hawaiian government to do, and, in case the latter appeared to favor such a course, to " tender to the President the support of this Government in the pending conflict ", even to the extent of negotiating a treaty of alliance.[12] McKinley greatly appreciated the attitude of the Hawaiian government and promised to communicate the wishes of the United States as circumstances should arise, but he did not care to go into details concerning the formal offer just at that time because he believed that Congress would speedily annex. In view of the fact that this proffer of assistance was made before the news of Dewey's victory had come to Hawaii and in the face of strong local opposition, it aroused much more sympathy for the Hawaiian cause in the United States than would otherwise have been the case, and undoubtedly had much to do with the passing of the joint resolution.[13]

Several weeks before the outbreak of hostilities, L. A. Thurston, an Hawaiian treaty commissioner in Washington, hoping to score a point for annexation, suggested to the Navy Department the desirability of buying all of the available coal in Honolulu for war purposes. Immediately Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, began to dictate letters and send off dispatches for that purpose. The purchases were consummated, and on April 12, 1898, the Hawaiian executive council, on application from the United States consul general, voted to allow four additional esplanade lots for storage purposes.[14] Dole considered this action, if not an actual breach of neutrality, a definite commitment to the side of the United States.

[11] *Advertiser*, June 10, 1898.

[12] Cooper to Hatch, May 10, 1898.

[13] Hatch to Cooper, May 22, 26, 1898; Cooper to Hatch, June 10, 1898; Hatch to Cooper, May 22, June 12, 1898; Sewall to Sherman, May 16, 1898, Department of State, Despatches, Hawaii, XXXI.; *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., p. 5773.

[14] Hatch to Cooper, Mar. 26, 1898; Dole, Memorandum.

With the outbreak of hostilities, Hawaii, realizing that she would have to pay the price if a Spanish cruiser should appear, extended every possible kind of help to the United States, becoming, indeed, a base for operations against the Philippines. A movement to put a battalion of Hawaiian volunteers in Cuba was abandoned only when wires came from Washington to the effect that more troops could not be used. During the course of the war three transport fleets called at Honolulu, and on every occasion from 3000 to 5000 men were fed and entertained for several days. The civilian population did its utmost to cultivate annexation sentiment among the soldiers by a lavish display of sympathy and hospitality, and the Hawaiian governmental officials, hoping that the soldiers would indirectly impress upon Congress the desirability of possessing the islands, actually turned them loose with an abundance of writing material in the house and senate chambers.[15] The Spanish government was naturally not unaware of these violations of neutrality, but under the circumstances the forthcoming protest from the vice consul at Honolulu received scant attention.[16]

The position of Dewey after his victory at Manila gave an unexpected turn to the annexation situation, and since the treaty before the Senate appeared to have no reasonable hope of success, the administration supported a joint resolution, which was promptly introduced into the House on May 4, 1898, and upon which a report was made by the Committee on Foreign Affairs on May 17, 1898. It is of significance to note that another joint resolution, supplemented by an elaborate report, had been introduced by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 16, 1898, but no further action had been taken on it. The languishing of this joint resolution and the introduction of the successful one almost immediately after the news of Dewey's engagement, reveal a new appreciation of the strategic importance of Hawaii.

Throughout the ensuing debates in Congress dozens of reasons were presented for and against the acquisition of Hawaii, most of which had already been discussed at great length during the preceding five years. The position of the islands with respect to the war enabled the annexationists to emphasize three strong arguments, two of which were new and a third of which, although previously considered, appeared in a far stronger light. First, the attitude of the United States toward Hawaii was morally unsound; second,

[15] *Advertiser*, May 18, June 4, 25, July 6, 1898; Cooper to Hatch, June 10, 1898.

[16] Renjes to Cooper, June 1, 1898; Cooper to Renjes, June 6, 1898; Cooper to Hatch, June 10, 1898.

Hawaii was indispensable for the successful prosecution of the war; and third, Hawaii was necessary for the defense of the Pacific seaboard and the Philippines.

The moral argument pointed to the fact that although the United States had given formal notice of the existence of war to the other powers, in order that they might proclaim neutrality, and was jealously watching their behavior, she was flagrantly violating the neutrality of Hawaii. The position of the United States was all the more reprehensible in that she was compelling a weak nation to violate the international law that had to a large degree been formulated by her own stand on the Alabama claims. Furthermore, in line with the precedent established by the Geneva award, Hawaii would be liable for every cent of damage caused by her dereliction as a neutral, and for the United States to force her into this position was cowardly and ungrateful. At the end of the war, Spain or coöperating powers would doubtless occupy Hawaii, indefinitely if not permanently, to insure payment of damages, with the consequent jeopardizing of the defenses of the Pacific Coast.[17] The reply of the anti-annexationists was that Hawaii, in return for protection of independence and favorable tariff arrangements, owed many times over whatever favors she was conferring on the United States. The latter, moreover, was in a position to assume any claims for damages against Hawaii, or to compel prostrate Spain to free Hawaii from liability. To be sure, the payment of money by the United States would not right a wrong, but, on the other hand, it would have been difficult for Spain to fix any damages upon Hawaii. Although the islands were admittedly flaunting neutrality, they had nothing to do with Dewey's victory, and it could not be demonstrated that they were responsible for the loss of the Philippines. It may be concluded, therefore, that although the moral argument was undeniably a powerful one its appeal was more emotional than practical.

The argument that annexation was imperative for prosecuting the war in the Philippines carried, whatever its merits, great weight both in Congress and out. Dewey, surrounded by millions of Spanish subjects, was in grave need of reënforcements and not to send them to him as speedily as possible would be an act of the basest ingratitude. A coaling station in the Pacific was necessary, for there were only two ships in the navy that could steam from San Francisco to Manila without recoaling. Colliers might be used, but they were slow, uneconomical, and dangerously uncertain in rough weather.

[17] For these and the following arguments, see *Cong. Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 5771–5772, and *passim*; *Appendix*, pp. 580, 604, 660, 670; *Advertiser*, July 1, 1898.

Although the United States had rights to a coaling station at Pearl Harbor, there was no coal there and the harbor could not then be entered by warships. Furthermore, the islands were necessary for the health of the soldiers confined on the transports.

The anti-annexationists, on the other hand, pointed out that it would be possible to save more than 400 miles over the Hawaiian route by sailing from San Francisco to the Philippines by way of the Aleutian Islands, where the United States already had Kiska, a far more commodious harbor than that of Honolulu. Although there was not a coaling station at Kiska, it would be relatively easy to send ahead a fleet of colliers and establish one. Furthermore, there were a number of ships in the navy that could not sail all the way from Honolulu to Manila without exhausting their coal supply, but there was not a single ship that would have to recoal at sea if it went from San Francisco to Manila by way of Kiska. In addition, the northern route would be a more healthful one for the soldiers. The annexationists objected that the Kiska route was undesirable because of ice, shoals, fog, currents, and storms, whereas in Hawaii there were none of these drawbacks, and besides there were shops at Honolulu capable of handling almost any repairs. That these difficulties were exaggerated was shown by pointing out that the Canadian Pacific line, which had made the quickest recorded trips for the crossing of the Pacific, used the route a little south of the Aleutians summer and winter, and that every vessel leaving San Francisco for Japan did not consume the additional three days necessary for touching at Honolulu unless it had special business there.

In evaluating the war measure argument it should be noted that, assuming the usefulness of the islands for war purposes, it was not necessary to annex them to use them. Without possession the United States was receiving every possible benefit from Honolulu that she could have received had the islands been a part of her territory, and these favors, conferred largely for the purpose of cultivating annexation sentiment, would probably not have been forthcoming so graciously if the islands had been annexed. It is also questionable whether or not there was need for excessive haste in relieving Dewey. There was no Spanish fleet in Asiatic waters and Dewey had Manila at the mercy of his guns. The departure of Camara's fleet from Cadiz on June 16, 1898,[18] had no appreciable bearing on annexation, for that event was not even mentioned in the debates. Nor was the possibility of trouble from the German fleet

[18] Camara appears to have had no intention of attacking Dewey, even if he had reached the Philippines. F. E. Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: the Spanish-American War*, II. 387–388.

at Manila more than suggested, and by the time the joint resolution passed the Senate, Dewey had received sufficient reënforcements to insure himself against a German attack. But even if these two threats had appeared to Congress to be serious, help could not have been rushed to Dewey any sooner if Hawaii had been a part of the United States. It could not be demonstrated, furthermore, that Hawaii was indispensable for the relief of Dewey. Colliers could have been employed and a coaling station, although it had minor drawbacks, could easily have been established on the shorter Kiska route. As one Congressman pointed out, if England had held the Hawaiian group at the outbreak of the war, the United States would have sent relief to Dewey without unusual delay. In short, he added, Honolulu was merely a convenience, not a necessity. It must therefore be concluded that annexation was not necessary for the prosecution of the war. Enthusiasm for Dewey overbalanced the actualities of the situation, and the annexationists could hardly be blamed for capitalizing this feeling. No better evidence of the fallacy of the war measure argument can be adduced than to point out that with the defeat of Cervera on July 3, 1898, the war was won. Yet three days later, largely as a war measure, the Senate approved the joint resolution and on the next day it was signed by McKinley.

The defense argument, which probably received as much attention and carried as much weight as any, was not so much connected with the war then being fought as with a future one. For years eminent naval and military authority had been advising the acquisition of Hawaii as a first line of defense before some formidable power should seize it as a base against the Pacific Coast. Prior to the Spanish-American War this reasoning had carried little weight, but the operations of Cervera's fleet had struck the civilian population of the Atlantic Coast with such terror that the strategic importance of Hawaii came to be better appreciated than ever before. Throughout the debates the note was constantly struck that although the war had added nothing to the defense argument it had put the public in a position better to appreciate its force.[19] It is significant to observe that only two of the sixteen members of Congress from the Pacific Coast states voted against annexation.[20]

A less important phase of the defense argument was concerned with the Philippines. The possible retention of these islands at the close of the war would, many believed, justify the annexation of Hawaii, which would be necessary as a base in holding them. But

[19] *Cong. Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 5772, 5795, 5839; *Appendix*, pp. 560, 561, 665.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 6019, 6712.

at the time of the passing of the joint resolution it was not at all clear that the United States would keep the Philippines,[21] and it should also be observed that the United States already had rights to a naval station at Pearl Harbor. Although the fear was expressed that some other nation, if we did not, might take Hawaii and cut off communications with the Far East, such action would have meant nothing less than war, so definitely had the United States established what amounted to a protectorate over the group.[22]

It is clear that if the war had not come when it did and if Dewey had not fought successfully at Manila, Hawaii would not have been annexed for some years to come, if ever. The moral argument was more emotional than practical; the war prosecution argument was fallacious; but the defense argument, as far as the Pacific Coast was concerned, was relatively sound. This argument had been employed for decades, and although the war added nothing to its validity, it added much to its comprehensiveness and force.

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[21] Lodge, *op. cit.*, I. 323, 330; A. L. P. Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy, 1896–1906*, pp. 80 ff.

[22] *Senate Reports*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., no. 681; *Cong. Record*, 55 Cong., 2 sess., p. 6305.

DOCUMENTS

Lafayette as Commercial Expert

THERE was not a suspicion of economic determinism in the motives that sent the nineteen-year-old Lafayette on his crusade to America. Patriotism, and the desire for *revanche* on an England that he detested with the passion of a family tradition; glory, and the wish to be among the foremost to restore France's prestige in battle against her veteran foe; an incipient respect for liberty and justice well enough formed to impress Silas Deane and to write home about occasionally to a lonely and puzzled wife—these were the emotions that kept him boyishly eager through seasickness, tropic suns, wilderness tracts, and Congressional discourtesy. Those who sent him or let him go—Broglie, Vergennes, Carmichael, Deane—might have dreamed of empire, commerce, fortune. But he himself went forth determined to swim back to France if need be, in order to join the French against England as soon as France formally declared war.[1] He would have liked better to fight in Europe than in America.

But when the war was won and Lafayette was six years older, he began to feel that tobacco was an important reason for international amity or enmity, even if he had not realized its significance in creating the war that had just made him famous. For the next six years he was the leading advocate of improved commercial relations between his native country and the country that had adopted him.[2] Two long memoirs that he wrote during this period have remained unpublished. Perhaps the later one was the manuscript entitled *Vues sur le commerce de la France avec les Etats Unis de l'Amérique,* that was confiscated along with other papers of Lafayette when he emigrated, and was afterwards sent to the Agence Temporaire des Titres.[3] At any rate, when Lafayette looked for it, some years later, he could find no trace of it. Condorcet, he says, helped him with the figures, but he himself had forgotten it all, "just as D'Alembert, which is more remarkable, forgot his own

[1] Archives Nationales, AE[II] 1018, letter dated Camp of White Marsh, Oct. 23, 1777. This letter is erroneously described as written to the Comte de Broglie. It is more likely addressed to Dubois-Martin, Broglie's secretary.

[2] *Cf.* Frederick L. Nussbaum, American Tobacco and French Politics, 1783–1789, *Political Science Quarterly,* XL. 497–516.

[3] Arch. Nat., T 1640, no. 61. It is more likely that this manuscript was another copy of the memoir printed below.

geometry ".[4] The only contemporary, or nearly contemporary, description of its argument that he knew of was given by Clavière and Brissot in their book on America.[5] Lafayette tells Constant that it was written in 1787, but a letter of Calonne to Jefferson of October 22, 1786, speaking of the committee that the king had appointed on Franco-American commerce, says that Lafayette has submitted to it a plan analogous to one presented by Jefferson to Vergennes.[6] Brissot's and Clavière's references to Lafayette's memoir confirm the date, 1786: " The Marquis de la Fayette proposed last year in this committee an abolition of the monopoly of this production [*i.e.*, tobacco]."

In addition to Condorcet, Dupont de Nemours, later a member of the finance committee of the Constituent Assembly, seems also to have coöperated with Lafayette in the preparation of this 1786 memoir. At any rate, Dupont announced to the Constituent Assembly on April 23, 1790, that Lafayette " s'est autrefois livré avec moi à un travail étendu " relative to the tobacco trade.[7]

It is undoubtedly this memoir of 1786 which Professor F. L. Nussbaum recently discovered in Paris and which, it is to be hoped, will soon be published. It is entitled *Résumé de mon avis au Comité du Commerce avec les Etats Unis lorsque la question des tabacs nous a été présentée.* It is signed by Lafayette and is accompanied by an autograph letter, dated June 1, 1786, to Boullogne, who was at that time chairman of the committee. The résumé consists of ten pages of careful argumentation against the monopoly by the farmers general of the French tobacco trade.

Lafayette's earlier memoir is published below. It was preserved in the archives of the ministry of marine and is now at the Archives Nationales (Arch. Nat., Marine B[7] 460, no. 5). Moreover, it was made the basis of a long report to the foreign office, remarks taken from letters of Marbois, French consul general in the United States, and of Gouverneur Morris being added in the margin for confirmation or contrast.[8] This report in the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs enables us to fix the approximate time of Lafayette's memorandum, for some dutiful person has marked it " 1783 ". Con-

[4] Letter to Constant, dated *mercredi* (no month or year), in the Van Wickle Library of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

[5] Clavière and Brissot, *De la France et des États-Unis* (London, 1787), ch. VI., sec. I.

[6] Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique, États-Unis, vol. 32, ff. 107–110, Calonne to Jefferson, Fontainebleau, Oct. 22, 1786. The plan of Jefferson is discussed by Nussbaum, *loc. cit.*, pp. 504–506.

[7] *Archives Parlementaires*, XV. 267.

[8] Arch. Aff. Étr., Mémoires et Documents, États-Unis, vol. 2, ff. 100–103.

firmation of this date is furnished by a letter from Lafayette to Vergennes dated Paris, December 25, 1783, in which permission is asked to send Gouverneur Morris "mon Memoire et l'assurance que m'a donné [*sic*] le gouvernement de s'occuper de ce Commerce".[9] This letter gives us our *dies non post quem*. The *dies non ante quem* is fixed by a letter of Vergennes to Lafayette dated June 29, 1783. Lafayette had asked the minister on June 17 how he defined a *port franc*. Vergennes replied on June 29, 1783, designating a free port as "un lieu où toutes les marchandises tant nationales qu'étrangères peuvent être importées et d'où elles peuvent être exportées librement".[10] This information Lafayette afterwards used in drawing up his memoir.

Lafayette's efforts, coinciding with like activity on the part of several other persons interested in Franco-American commerce,[11] had almost immediate results. He had an interview with Calonne, controller general of finances, before the end of the year, and was invited by him to Versailles in order to confer on American commerce with Vergennes.[12] On January 9, 1784, Calonne wrote to Lafayette

[9] Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., États-Unis, vol. 26, f. 251. It is interesting to note that on the same day, December 25, 1783, Franklin wrote to Morris: "The Marquis de Lafayette, who loves to be employed in our affairs, and is often very useful, has lately had several conversations with the ministers and persons concerned in forming new regulations, respecting the commerce between our two countries, which are not yet concluded. I therefore thought it well to communicate to him a copy of your letter, which contains so many sensible and just observations on that subject. He will make a proper use of them, and perhaps they may have more weight, as appearing to come from a Frenchman, than they would have if it were known that they were the observations of an American. I perfectly agree with you in all the sentiments you have expressed on this occasion." John Bigelow, *Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin*, VIII. 402. If, as seems probable from Lafayette's letter to Vergennes of this date, the memoir had but recently been written, many of the ideas contained in it would appear to have been borrowed from Morris and Franklin. The memoir in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères (see note 7) also indicates this.

[10] Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., États-Unis, vol. 24, ff. 354–355, Lafayette to Vergennes, June 17, 1783; see also Lafayette, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1837–1838), II., 69–71, for a letter of March 19, 1783, on a similar subject. Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., États-Unis, vol. 24, f. 411.

[11] Perhaps the Maréchal de Castries, minister of marine, had Lafayette's memoir before him when he wrote on October 23, 1783, to M. de Sourdeval, commissioner of ports and arsenals at Nantes, about commerce with America. See Henri Sée, Commerce between France and the United States, 1783–1784, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI. 738–740. De Castries mentions many of the products that Lafayette mentions and complains, like Lafayette, of the French method of folding cloth and of short term credits extended by French merchants to Americans. It will be remembered that Lafayette's memoir was found among the papers of the ministry of marine. Nevertheless it seems more likely that this memoir was written later than October, 1783.

[12] Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., États-Unis, vol. 26, f. 251, letter from Lafayette to Vergennes, Dec. 25, 1783.

that the king intended to establish four free ports instead of the two stipulated by treaty.[13] By the *arrêt* of August 30, 1784, several of Lafayette's suggestions on colonial trade were adopted: the number of *entrepôts* in the French islands was increased from two to seven and the list of articles that might be imported was considerably extended.[14] But the question of Franco-American commercial relations dragged on. In 1785 Lafayette became involved in the controversy on the importation of whale oil,[15] while the dispute with the farmers general about tobacco still waged. It was logical then that Lafayette should have become an important member of the committee which in February, 1786, began its sittings to consider the question of Franco-American commerce and that his memoir of 1786 should have been of some interest. In a letter of August 2, 1786, Lafayette expressed himself as well content with the progress of the committee,[16] but, as a matter of fact, the principal difficulties in the way of Franco-American commercial amity were not settled until the Treaty of Mortfontaine in 1800, in the achievement of which Lafayette had but a small share.

Lafayette's interest in the entire problem and his understanding of the importance of closer economic relations between France and the United States—evinced by the memoir printed below and by a long series of letters to the ministers of the king and to American statesmen—give little support to the belief that the "mysteries of vulgar trade and commerce were beyond him".[17]

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Observations sur le Commerce entre la France et les Etats Unis[18]

En sacrifiant à la derniere Guerre et ses trésors et le Sang de ses citoyens, la France a dû y prévoir de grands avantages. Il en est qu'aucune faute ne peut lui ôter, et tandis qu'elle a recouvré sa considéra-

[13] *Ibid.*, vol. 32, ff. 107–110. The treaty of 1778 (art. XXX.) promised only "one or more free ports".

[14] *Cf.* F. L. Nussbaum, The French Colonial Arrêt of 1784, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVII. 62–78.

[15] Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., États-Unis, vol. 30, ff. 421–422, and *ibid.*, vol. 32, ff. 107–110, memorandum of Calonne, dated Paris, Nov. 24, 1785. See also *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States . . . 1783 . . . 1789* (Washington, 1833), III. 160–164.

[16] Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., États-Unis, vol. 32, f. 34, letter to Vergennes, Fontainebleau, Aug. 2, 1786. *Cf.* Albert Mathiez, Lafayette et le Commerce Franco-Américain à la Veille de la Révolution, *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, nouvelle série, III. 474–484, especially page 482.

[17] Brand Whitlock, *La Fayette*, I. 280.

[18] Arch. Nat., Marine, B7 460, no. 5. This document is not in Lafayette's handwriting, but is signed by him. Accents and capitals are here reproduced as they appear in the original.

tion, sa rivale perd une partie de son Commerce, un territoire immense, un grand nombre de sujets que l'Europe s'empressait à multiplier. La France a plus fait encore, elle s'est garantie d'une ruine sûre et prochaine. Aux yeux de tout ce qui connait le Nouveau-Monde, il est démontré que la veille de la Déclaration d'Indépendance, l'angleterre pouvait s'assurer toutes nos possessions Américaines. Mais quoique pour les biens acquis et les maux évités, nous devions bénir cette révolution; quoique les lieux communs de la Critique se reduisent eux-mêmes à savoir si cette force inévitable des Etats-Unis, à présent isolée et tranquille, serait mieux placée dans sa réunion avec nos rivaux, il est d'autres profits encore qui nous semblaient assurés, et que je vois à regret nous échaper.

Pendant l'animosité de cette querelle, nos liaisons de Commerce eussent été plus faciles; mais si nous avons attendu des concurrens il nous reste sur eux des avantages. Non que le Négoce me paraisse une affaire de sentiment; les Américains aiment la France; ils sont reconnaissans et généreux, et quand on reproche de l'excès à leur haine (au sujet des représailles ou des Refugiés,[19] par exemple) il serait trop absurde de leur reprocher de l'amour pour l'Angleterre; mais tout Commerçant cherche un gain, et quoique la politique des Etats-Unis nous soit très favorable, l'interêt mercantile garde l'impartialité. Son influence, il faut l'avouer, ira plus loin encore; elle conduira peu à peu des Conseils où les Négocians jouent un grand rôle. Rivaux des anglais, et dans nos manufactures et dans notre Commerce Naval, c'est par les mêmes moyens qu'un jour s'y décidera notre rivalité politique.

Quand je parle de nos avantages, je me borne donc à dire que pour les premiers essais nous en trouverons dans la disposition Américaine; que la nature nous en a donné d'exclusifs, qu'un peu de soin nous en donnerait beaucoup encore; qu'au lieu de repousser ce Commerce, il nous faudrait moins de peine pour en attirer la plus grande partie; que chaque délai, chaque faute devient un gain sûr pour l'angleterre. Car enfin si l'Amérique n'existe pas pour nous, elle existera pour d'autres, et si cette vérité ne vaut pas des sacrifices, du moins vaut-elle une promte et bien sérieuse attention.

Interessé de bonne heure à cette révolution, je dois regretter les moindres profits que ma Patrie négligerait d'y trouver. Je dois chérir tout ce qui resserre une alliance naturelle que l'interêt commun me parait exiger. Si j'avais l'expérience d'un Négociant, j'écrirais sur le Commerce avec les Etats-Unis. Il m'est impossible d'y prétendre, et si mes reflexions, ou mes rapports m'ont donné quelques idées, elles sont trop imparfaites pour hazarder un Mémoire. Ce que j'ai appris ou pensé, je l'ai dit aux Ministres du Roi, et c'est pour leur obéir que je présente ici quelques notes sur cette grande affaire.

[19] This is probably a reference to the reluctance of the American commissioners to make any concession regarding the Loyalists in the peace negotiations at Versailles and their resentment at the burning of American seacoast towns by the English. Exactly what is meant by *représailles* is difficult to determine. It may refer to the American desire to annex Canada and to the compensations demanded for slaves taken away by Loyalists. Or perhaps the attack upon the Moravian Indians and the arrest of an English officer for the "murder" of an American officer are meant. See Bigelow, pp. 121–125, 137–139, 204–211. See also the Papers [MSS.] of the Continental Congress, vol. 35, Letters from the Comptroller of the Treasury, ff. 93–94 (Library of Congress), for a letter from Lafayette on behalf of Canadian refugees.

Le Commerce du Royaume et celui des Colonies, quoique divisé par les Départements, est, dans son rapport avec les Etats-Unis, impossible à séparer. En examinant la premiere partie, l'on voit d'un côté des productions crues, et de l'autre des ouvrages manufacturés; ce qui annonce un grand profit à cet échange. Si cette vérité demandait un exemple, je citerais le grand Commerce des graines de Lin, que les anciennes Colonies vendaient à l'Irlande. depuis l'instant où elles étaient plantées jusqu'à celui ou l'Amérique recevait des toiles blanchies, l'Irlande gagnait tout à y favoriser cette culture. En évitant de nuire au Commerce, nos draps fins, nos Soyeries de toute espèce, nos toiles et nos ouvrages de Mode etc. trouveront un débit considérable; mais il peut s'augmenter encore par les soins; et tandis que les Manufactures moins recherchées s'approcheront du gout américain, (car j'ai vu qu'à Boston les têtes rondes de nos clous en empêchaient seules la vente, et que la maniere Irlandaise de plier les toiles, influait sur le débit,) les autres pourraient diminuer la cherté en simplifiant leurs moyens, et quelques unes ne perdraient pas à l'adoption du principe Anglais, qui n'employe chaque personne qu'à une chose, et à chaque chose que le dégré de force absolument nécessaire. Il est singulier, par exemple, que lorsque la matiere premiere est meilleure, moins chère dans nos Colonies, les ouvrages en coton de Rouen depuis la Paix [20] soient plus chers que ceux de Manchester. Le prix de notre main d'oeuvre, le bon gout, l'intelligence qui nous distinguent, tout nous promet et d'imiter, et de surpasser les ouvrages quelconques des Etrangers.

En formant des liaisons de Commerce, en faisant gouter nos Manufactures, on doit aussi faciliter l'exportation. J'entens les Américains souhaiter qu'elle soit sur le même pied pour leur Continent que pour nos Isles; ils sont effrayés par cet établissement contre nature des Douanes intérieures.[21] Depuis le moment où l'ouvrage sort de la Manufacture, jusqu'à celui où sans ouvrir les caisses, à moins de formalités pires que l'incertitude, on les voit entrer dans le vaisseau, ils se plaignent de ces difficultés sans nombres qui affligent également les nationaux. Les vexations conduisent à la Contrebande, aux friponneries: pour un Etranger ignorant la Langue et les usages, elles sont encore plus insupportables. Les fabriques Anglaises donnent un plus long crédit, reflexion moins triste que les autres, mais qui vaut la peine d'être remarquée. Quant à nos vins, nos eaux-de-vie, ils nous donnent sur l'Angleterre un avantage exclusif. Le gout des vins de France augmente tous les jours; ils sont recherchés dans le Nord, nécessaires aux païs chauds. Il faudrait étouffer ce Commerce pour que le Portugal, les Açores, et même Madère; soutinssent la comparaison.

Voilà donc une nouvelle source de richesse qui vivifie nos productions et nos Manufactures. Il serait maladroit de la tarir, il est bien plus aisé de l'augmenter. Mais cette partie du Nouveau-Monde produisant de bonnes denrées et non de riches Métaux, pour faire payer nos Ouvriers, nous devons, à l'exemple de l'Irlande, encourager leurs cultivateurs. Tandis que leurs Pelleteries sont renvoyées sous la forme de chapeaux, manchons etc. que nous employons leur excellent fer, que leurs bois

[20] If Lafayette means by "la Paix" the definitive treaty of peace, this memoir must have been written after September 3, 1783. But he probably means the preliminaries of peace signed January 20, 1783.

[21] Duties (*traites*) were levied not only on goods going in and out of France, but also on goods passing from certain provinces of France into others. Cities likewise taxed certain products entering their walls (*octrois*).

reçoivent ici, comme autrefois en Angleterre, outre la construction, une addition de voiles, de gréements etc. il faut aussi que leur Indigo, leur Riz, leurs Tabacs trouvent en France un marché avantageux. Leur Indigo, moins fin que le nôtre, a son emploi particulier. Le Riz Américain doit être préféré à celui du Levant, quand même ce Commerce serait bien assuré. L'article essentiel, c'est le Tabac; mais il est anéanti par M^rs. les Fermiers Généraux.[22] S'il est une Nation favorisée pour la Moruë, il ne faut pas oublier que c'est la monnaie de la Nouvelle Angleterre: en un mot, si l'on veut que les Américains achetent, leurs moyens de vente ne sauraient assez etre multipliés.

Loin de remplir ce but désirable, notre Sistême actuel a repoussé leur commerce. La difficulté des régles est encore plus facheuse que leur cherté. Les Préposés de la Ferme ne peuvent qu'arrêter et ne décident jamais. Le tems si précieux au Négociant est consumé par le plus leger obstacle, comme il le serait par la plus importante affaire. Ces jugemens de la Compagnie, si longtems attendus, varient arbitrairement à chaque occasion. En arrivant dans un Port Français, on flotte entre la crainte d'une déclaration moindre qui fait confisquer, et celle d'une déclaration exagérée, qui fait payer pour ce qu'on n'a pas. Dans les Cargaisons de Tabac, l'erreur est encore plus facheuse; car en se trompant à son desavantage, on est accusé de contrebande, et cette absurdité n'est suspendue que par un ordre particulier. *Sans tirer à conséquence,* en remportant les marchandises, les Américains souhaitent recouvrer les droits d'Entrée, et cette facilité leur parait essentielle au Commerce. Celui du Tabac est dans ce moment perdu pour la France, et depuis la Paix, il n'en est, je crois, arrivé que deux Batimens; encore était-ce un ancien engagement, et tous les autres vont en Angleterre, en Hollande, où ils sont payés par les Manufactures. Il y a telle Cargaison qui, après avoir passé neuf mois en France, sans que M^rs. les Fermiers Généraux voulussent ni l'acheter, ni lui permettre d'aller à Marseille où les Italiens la demandaient, est à la fin partie pour Amsterdam. Le bon Tabac se vend à present à Philadelphie de 50. à 60. Schellings le Quintal; arrivé en France les differentes charges le portent à 54. Livres de notre Monnaye; et tandis que dans nos Ports on n'en tire que neuf sols la Livre, il se vend, dit-on, seize sols à Londres et à Amsterdam. Mais sans entrer dans des détails où je puis me tromper, il est clair que pour l'achat de cette denrée et pour le débit des nôtres, un Commerce direct est le meilleur; que pour s'en emparer, les Etrangers sont capables de tout, même d'une perte momentannée; et qu'a moins d'éclairer le patriotisme de la Ferme, l'appât d'un gain passager, ou l'attachement aux vieux usages, pourra nuire à nos interêts mercantiles et politiques.

Depuis longtems ces abus enchainent le Commerce, affligent les citoyens, et, de l'aveu général, ils compensent nos avantages naturels sur les autres Nations. Je ne prétends pas donner des idées neuves, mais

[22] While there were certain provinces of France which were largely free from the control of the tobacco trade by the farmers general, the only real customer of the American merchant was the Farm, unless the merchant wished to engage in smuggling. A memoir of D'Ormesson, controller of finances, to Vergennes (June 24, 1783) speaks of Lafayette's intervention on behalf of an American tobacco merchant named Ridley, who was obliged to take part of his cargo from Bordeaux to a non-French port in order to sell at a profit. Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., États-Unis, vol. 24, ff. 390–391. See also Marcel Marion, *Dictionnaire des Institutions de la France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles,* article on Tabac.

j'indique celles dont les Américains sont frappés. Il m'appartient encore moins de décider les remédes, mais l'exemple des Etrangers prouve qu'il en existe, et je parlerai seulement des Ports francs qu'on a longtems négligés. Le Traité en promet deux: Marseille et Dunkerque le sont de tout tems. Au moment de la Paix je représentai que l'Orient convenait fort aux Américains. On voulut bien le choisir; je fus chargé de l'assurer, et d'annoncer une Lettre en forme, qui n'a point encore paru. La conclusion de cette affaire, et l'addition de Bayonne formeraient une chaine de quatre Ports, suffisante au Commerce des Etats Unis. Peut-être vaudrait-il mieux pour nous que tous les Ports de France fussent libres; mais sans me permettre une idée étrangere, sans même faire valoir ici et L'orient et Bayonne, j'ajouterai seulement que ces dispositions devraient être combinées avec les Ministres du Congrès et leur Consul en France.[28]

Quelques soient cependant les importations d'amérique, la France est assez heureuse pour que la balance d'exportations soit de beaucoup en sa faveur. Il s'agit donc de trouver un payement pour cet excédent, et le commerce des Etats Unis aux Isles peut seul le procurer. Lors même que j'aurais de profondes connaissances, je craindrais de risquer un avis sur cette importante question. Les Négocians Français y semblent opposés aux Français habitans des Colonies. Le pour et le contre peuvent, dit-on, se soutenir; mais en causant avec des gens moins ignorans que moi, voici à peu près ce qui m'a frappé sur le Commerce Américain.

Dès que son interêt nuit à notre Commerce, il doit être nul aux yeux du Gouvernement; Mais je n'en dis pas autant et de nos cultivateurs, de nos Ouvriers en France et de nos Concitoyens dans les Colonies. Le débit de leurs productions, la prospérité qui en résulte, doivent être balancés avec l'avantage des Négocians et se combiner pour le plus grand bien de la chose publique. Il y a moins de dixhuit ans que les chambres de Commerce s'opposaient unanimement à toute communication entre les Colonies et les Etrangers. Depuis ce tems elles sont devenues tolérantes sur quelques articles; elles conviennent même à présent qu'il vaut mieux tirer les salaisons d'Amérique que d'Irlande. Ce n'est pas sans débats que la nécessité fit établir des Entrepôts à S^te^. Lucie et au-Môle S^t^. Nicolas. Il y a parmi les Négocians une diversité d'avis, et toutes ces refléxions me font espérer un sistême conciliant où l'interêt national s'accorderait avec celui des particuliers.

En prenant les chairs salées d'Irlande, nous avions le rebut des Anglais, et là difference de prix et de qualité ne sera pas comparable. Si le Poisson d'Amérique se verse dans les Colonies, les Marchés d'Europe, en recevront mieux le nôtre. La concurrence peut se rétablir par des droits modérés; mais tant que la subsistance des Négres dépendra des lois prohibitives, ils seront moins nombreux, mal nourris; ils travailleront peu, mourront plutôt; et puisqu'enfin on a des Esclaves, ne doit-on pas écouter la double voix de l'interêt et de l'humanité? Les droits du Roi, la consommation des Manufactures, la culture des Colonies augmenteraient en proportion de la liberté. Les Colons ne sont-ils pas les meilleurs juges sur la nour-

[28] Franklin was American minister to France, 1779–1784. In 1779 Adams was appointed to carry on peace negotiations, and in 1781, Franklin, Jay, Laurens, and Jefferson were appointed as commissioners to act with him. Jefferson did not go to France until 1784, and by the middle of 1783 Laurens had returned to America. At the very end of 1783 Adams went temporarily to England for his health. Thomas Barclay was the American consul.

riture de leurs Négres?, et craint-on qu'ils ne leur donnent du Superflu? En recevant la Morue et les salaisons, on recevra sûrement aussi les animaux vivans, Merrains, etc. qu'a toujours fourni le Continent américain. Je dois observer ici que les Entrepôts actuels exigent un cabotage incommode et dispendieux; et si l'on attend quelque ressource des Espagnols, j'ajouterai que leur Commerce se réduit à des Chévres, des peaux de leurs bestiaux lâchés dans les bois, que le manque de fourage ne permet pas d'élever autrement. L'Isle Marguerite seule a quelques pâturages, mais ce petit objet doit d'autant moins être calculé, qu'elle adoptera de plus en plus la culture de nos Isles. Repoussés par nous, les Américains encourageraient les Espagnols, et c'est en Manufactures Anglaises que ceux-ci se font toujours payer. La négligence des Gardes Côtes rend la Contrebande facile. Parmi ce peuple paresseux quoiqu'il puisse promettre, on ne doit compter sur rien qui demande des soins personnels; mais le bois propre aux maisons, aux Bateaux, à la réparation des Navires; mais les Merrains les Bois pour mats et vergues; mais enfin les provisions salées que rien n'empêchera de tirer des Etats-Unis; Voila des objets sur lesquels les Espagnols ne peuvent prétendre à la concurrence.

Il est impossible de douter que les Poissons, Salaisons, etc. tous les articles enfin ci-dessus nommés, ne soient admis dans nos Colonies. Les farines offrent une plus grande difficulté, que je suis bien loin de savoir resoudre. Les Colons disent que la question sur l'exportation des grains étant encore douteuse, on ne doit pas être si affirmatif sur leurs exportations aux Isles; que les Négres ne font guères usage de farines; que si le vendeur de bled perd, le consommateur, et par conséquent l'ouvrier français y gagneront; que les champs se transformeront en vignes; que l'importation intérieure du Royaume offre un débouché; que puisqu'on porte tous les jours des farines américaines dans les Ports d'Europe (et la France même en a quelques fois reçu,) il est cruel d'étouffer l'accroissement des Colonies par des priviléges exclusifs, dont l'effet ne sert ordinairement que les individus. Les Taffiats, les Melasses et les Manufactures de France, passeront des Isles aux Etats Unis; mais ils tiennent fort au Commerce des sucres, du moins pour leur consommation. S'ils n'en trouvent ni chez nous, ni chez les Anglais, ils encourageront à notre détriment, ou le Brésil, ou les Colonies Espagnoles. S'ils ont cette liberté dans les Isles anglaises, ils y reprendront des liaisons que nous devons craindre. L'amélioration de nos Colonies doit nous interesser. S^te^. Lucie, par exemple, est regardée comme un tombeau, et peut devenir une Isle florissante. Si l'on arrêtait la croissance d'une possession ennemie, ne croirait-on pas lui avoir fait un grand mal?; et puisque le Commerce français ne suffit point au progrès de nos Colonies, pourquoi ne pas laisser leur Superflu à des consommateurs alliés?

En indiquant certaines Isles, ou certains Ports, et bornant la proportion de sucres sur chaque Navire, ou bien en exigeant des gages d'une représentation de cette denrée aux Consuls Français dans les Etats Unis, n'y aurait-il pas des moyens pour s'assurer que ce Commerce n'excéde pas les besoins du Continent, et pour que les Américains ne trouvent aucun profit à porter nos Sucres en Europe? On craint des difficultés dans l'exécution de ces Réglemens; mais ne doit-on pas en dire autant de toutes les restrictions? Si celles ci n'embarrassent pas assez pour faire accorder entiere liberté, pourquoi les autres effrayeraient-elles au point d'adopter une prohibition générale? Il est dailleurs raisonnable de tenter des essais,

et l'on ne doit pas commencer par ceux qui, faisant perdre un Commerce peu connu, nous prépareraient d'inutiles regrets. Lorsqu'on aurait examiné ce Commerce sous tous les points de vue, il en resterait encore un qui mérite d'être considéré. Les Etats Unis regorgeant de productions, les Isles ayant avec eux des besoins mutuels qui les rapprochent, il est à craindre que le refus d'honnête liberté n'entraine une licence générale. Si tout est également défendu, les Américains et les Colons violeront tout indistinctement; mais l'assurance d'un profit licite, éloignerait la Contrebande, et c'est elle qui entraine les vexations, les animosités, qui perd tous les droits du Roi, qui détruit toute combinaison en faveur de notre Commerce, et qui défait les liens de la Politique.

S'il est juste de ne donner, même a nos plus chers alliés, que le superflu de notre Commerce; s'ils ne doivent être employés qu'à sa prospérité, ou bien à celle de nos cultivateurs, de nos ouvriers, et celle de nos Colonies pour l'avantage de la Métropole, on serait bien coupable, Sans doute, de leur sacrifier le grand interêt de notre Navigation. Celle des Colonies détruit, dit-on, plus de Matelots qu'elle n'en forme, et généralement les Américains n'esperent pas pour la leur un accroissement très rapide. Il est vrai que dans le moment actuel on se porte avec empressement sur les derrieres du païs, et qu'on est attiré vers les précieuses terres qui attendent des cultivateurs. Cette navigation dailleurs sera, peut-être, plus chère qu'on ne pense. Si le bois est à meilleur marché, il n'en est pas de même de la main d'oeuvre, et le cordage est en grande partie importé d'Europe. Leurs Matelots sont mieux payés et mieux nourris; leurs batimens durent beaucoup moins longtems que les Nôtres. S'ils se construisent à meilleur compte, disent les Américains, les Français en acheteront une partie qui deviendra propriété Française. Ils prétendent enfin que plusieurs Nations naviguent moins chèrement; ce n'est pas eux que l'on doit craindre sous ce rapport.

Si j'ai hazardé quelques idées sur le Commerce américain, j'y ai été encouragé par les Ministres du Roi, et plus encore par l'amour de ma Patrie et mon attachement aux Etats-Unis. Ces motifs, que j'ai le droit de faire valoir, excuseraient quelques prétentions sur des matieres que j'entends mal; mais je n'ai pas même ce tort à me reprocher. J'avoue que le moindre Négociant en Sait plus que moi, et si quelques unes de mes idées paraissaient justes, on doit y croire d'autant plus, qu'exposées par un ignorant, elles ne sont pas montrées à leur avantage. Je ne donne point un Mémoire: je rassemble des Notes qu'on m'a demandées sur des vérités rebattues, ou sur des opinions américaines que mes rapports particuliers m'ont mis à portée d'entendre. Tandis que pour la prospérité de notre Commerce, de notre Culture, de nos Fabriques, on facilite notre exportation, et que pour assurer un payement, on favorise l'importation américaine, il faudra qu'en soignant notre Navigation, qu'en prévoyant, et ce qu'on doit desirer et ce qu'on ne peut empêcher, l'interêt de nos Négocians se combine avec celui de nos Manufactures et de nos Colonies, pour le plus grand bien possible du Royaume. Les Ministres du Roi sauront mieux que moi comment remplir ces objets; mais il est deux refléxions qui ne demandent point de Science. La premiere est, qu'en perdant du tems, on se fait un tort irréparable: La Seconde est, que le Ministre des Etats unis et son Consul en France, que d'autres Envoyés Américains étant ici, il est d'autant plus important de les consulter, que leurs talens et leurs connaissances rendent les avis précieux, et que leur opinion influera beaucoup sur la disposition des Etats-Unis.

LAFAYETTE.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

A History of Ancient Persia, from its Earliest Beginnings to the Death of Alexander the Great. By ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS, Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Drew University, Professor of Ancient Oriental Literature in Princeton University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1929. Pp. xv, 393. $7.50.)

IN his "Preface, Mostly Personal", Professor Rogers told of "labors so sorely handicapped by ill health", how "before I could begin to write weakness, weariness and pain took possession of me, and slowed my pace". "It is the last big book that I shall ever attempt to write", he concludes, "into obscurity I slip away modestly and kindly." The prophecy has been in part fulfilled, for a bare year has passed since the book was published and Professor Rogers is no more.

Yet the prophecy is fulfilled only in part, for his death makes the more evident the high rank of Professor Rogers among American historians. In these days of great expeditions from American universities and museums, when their discoveries are front page news, it is difficult to realize the situation when the first edition of Rogers's *History of Babylonia and Assyria* was published in 1900. A few instructors taught Old Testament Hebrew and cognate languages, a few articles and even books testified to an awakening interest in Oriental scholarship, but general interest was slight. The *History of Babylonia and Assyria* was not only the first American production in the field of ancient Near Eastern history, it was the first American work along Oriental lines to win international recognition since Edward Robinson's *Biblical Researches in Palestine* a half century before. Its success was immediate; it was repeatedly reprinted and improved until the sixth and definitive edition appeared in 1915. During the early years of the twentieth century, it was the outstanding example of American Oriental scholarship and the present favorable position of our studies is in no small degree due to the deserved popularity of this book.

Professor Rogers has told us that the present book is a continuation of his *Babylonia and Assyria*. If this was said in apology, it was unneeded. The problems of Persian history are in many respects quite different from those of Babylonia and Assyria, even as the sources are different, but Professor Rogers has handled them in the most capable manner. Our sources for Persian history are predominantly Greek and it has been inevitable that most students should have considered it from

the Greek point of view. To Professor Rogers, Persia is the true successor of that Babylonia and Assyria which he knew so well, and this realization colors the whole story. Persia is no longer an incident in Greek history, it is a mighty empire with the Greeks only on distant frontiers.

The book comes at an appropriate time, for we are beginning to realize the true meaning of Persia in world history. Persia has been recently opened to archæologists and parties of excavators will soon be in the field. There will be new discoveries, but for years this book will remain the standard. The numerous and beautiful illustrations enhance the sense of reality, but it is due to the hand of the aging master, which had not lost its cunning to the end, that to the reader as to the author "these men of the long ago have become very real", "the ghosts of Darius, Cyrus, and Alexander are here called to walk again".

The University of Chicago. A. T. Olmstead.

Sextus Pompey. By Moses Hadas, Ph.D., Instructor in Greek and Latin in Columbia University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1930. Pp. vi, 181. $2.00.)

The task of the biographer of Sextus Pompey is not an easy one. The extant evidence of his life before the battle of Munda is meager and at times obviously incorrect. For his public life the material is more abundant but no more accurate and certainly hostile in tone. Dr. Hadas's contributions to a more harmonious account of the earlier years include the fixing of Sextus's birth "in June or July of 76, but not in 75", the support of Cicero's favorable opinion of Sextus's cultural attainment (Ep. ad Att. 16, 4, 1., Contra Vell. Pater. 2, 73, 1.), a reconstruction of his movements in the year 49 B.C., and a statement of his position among the republicans who opposed Caesar at Thapsus. Much of this work is convincing, but credulity weakens with the increasing use of inferential treatment. When fifteen inferences in three paragraphs culminate in the statement that "Cornelia and Sextus left Brundisium between February 26 and March 4, 49 B.C.", one wonders whether the charms of the destination offer adequate compensation for the hazards of the journey.

The author's desire to defend Sextus has not blinded him to the faults of his hero. The murders of Bithynicus and of Murcus are justly condemned. The dilatory character of Sextus is criticized again and again. The doubtful reputation of many of his followers is admitted, although he notes, with justice, that the pirate freedman, Menas, was also welcomed and even entertained by Octavian. In one instance, apology appears unnecessary. Why attempt to excuse Sextus for posing as the son of Neptune when the great Julius, the brilliant Antonius, and the astute Octavian (*divi filius*) were willing to admit their close relationship to Olympus?

On the other hand, Sextus deserves credit for a list of respectable aims and motives. Opposition to the "tyrant" Caesar and to the no less tyrannical triumvirs was not a sin. *Pietas* was a virtue which both he

and Octavian professed. "Rehabilitation in the esteem of the world", and even self-preservation are not to be condemned as motives. Sextus's generous treatment of the proscribed, the modest character of his demands for reinstatement, were admirable. The loyalty of his father's friends, and the constant sympathy of a group in Italy speak for him. Excellent documentation, a bibliography of seventy titles, and a generous index complete this useful study.

The University of California. J. J. Van Nostrand.

Julian the Apostate. By W. Douglas Simpson, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A.Scot., Librarian of the University of Aberdeen. (Aberdeen: Milne and Hutchison. 1930. Pp. xi, 126. 7 s. 6 d.)

Since the eighteenth century there has been abundant recognition of the moral greatness of the Emperor Julian. The new narrative and discussion by W. Douglas Simpson, as a biography, is tersely complete. It has literary charm, ardor of appreciation, and dramatic construction. Simpson's purpose was to give in compact brevity an account of Julian in all his varied aspects and in relation to his times. It is not a compilation, but a work based on independent critical study of the sources, Ammianus, Libanius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Julian's own works, with a judicious use of important modern contributions in various languages, including some obscure German gymnasial dissertations.

No account of Julian can be a mere recital of facts. Between Constantine's recognition of Christianity and the suppression of pagan worship by Theodosius this startling effort to give the control of the world to a purified Hellenism excites inevitable discussion of motives and political possibilities. Simpson's interpretation of the man and the situation is in substantial accord with what to many of us is the model verdict, the brief and convincing treatment in Gaston Boissier's *La Fin du Paganisme*, but what he writes stirs us more deeply to a sense of the tragic drama of this great life so soon cut off. In his moving story of Julian's end he carries the reader to an emotional height that can but assent to an utterance expressing this author's relation to his theme: "In these terrible closing days of his stormy life, *Julianus contra mundum* scales a pinnacle of tragic grandeur; and from that height of lone achievement his figure, at once so grand and so pathetic, has haunted and fascinated mankind ever since." These pages, we may note, make no mention of the suspicion that the emperor's fatal wound came not from a Persian but a Roman lance or of the debated surmise that the lance may have been wielded by a Christian hand.

Some of Simpson's comments may fall short of acceptance. Blaming Julian for failing to read aright the signs of his times he is rather too loud in praise of Theodosius. While, he says, the triumph of orthodox Christianity was inevitable, "it is the glory of Theodosius that he foresaw it and helped forward its consummation". As for the spiritual conditions of the Empire in the earlier centuries, the sweeping assertions of

page eighty-four are overdone and the statement (p. 68) that the Jews indulged in no missionary propaganda should be limited to a period when that was a fact. There are signs also that Simpson is not expert in the field of philosophy and the history of Christian dogma, but mention of such matters must be subordinated to the recognition of our debt to him for a vital and most interesting historical study.

Lowell. F. A. CHRISTIE.

L'Islam. Par HENRI MASSÉ, Professeur à l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales. (Paris: Colin. 1930. Pp. 221. 10.50 fr.)

Les Anciennes Civilisations de l'Inde. Par GASTON COURTILLIER, Chargé de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg. (Paris: Colin. 1930. Pp. 216. 10.50 fr.)

BOTH these books belong to the Collection Armand Colin, a series of brochures (about 200 small pages) similar to the well-known Sammlung Göschen in Germany, touching on all fields of human knowledge, and designed to present the results of scholarship in simple, popular form. Its motto is *Vulgariser sans abaisser.* The books contain general bibliographies, chiefly limited to works in the French language. There are no notes, no indexes, and practically no references. Obviously their appeal is more to the layman than to the specialist.

Yet even a specialist may profitably read what so good a scholar as Henri Massé says in summing up the salient points of the history of Islam. His six chapters deal respectively with the origin of Islam—its background, and the prophet's life; the Arab hegemony, down to the eleventh century, with interesting remarks on the administrative services of the caliphs; the foundations of the Law—Koran, Sunna, traditions (*hadīth*), and jurisprudence (*fiqh*); dogma and law, a brief account of Moslem theology, ritual, and religious customs; religious and philosophic evolution, dealing chiefly with sectarianism through the ages; and the Turkish and Persian hegemony, to which is appended a very brief allusion to Mogul India and to such modern movements as Wahhabism and Babism. Naturally, India and the Far East receive scant attention; the brevity of the book makes this inevitable. It is at least authoritative and readable, even if it can hardly be said to contain anything essentially new.

M. Courtillier gives, in equally brief compass, a sketch of the history of Indian civilization down to and including the Gupta dynasty and the contemporaries of Kālidāsa, that is, roughly the sixth century A.D. It is also readable; perhaps not quite so authoritative. There are, at any rate, a number of minor slips which make a disquieting impression; for example, the author of the celebrated Arthaśāstra is repeatedly named as "Kautilīya", which is not his name (that is Kauṭilya, or possibly Kauṭalya) but a derivative adjective. One has the feeling that the book is based mainly on secondary sources; it hardly shows that sure mastery of

the field which is desirable even in a popular manual. The judgments and opinions expressed are generally conventional and traditional, and in some cases even antiquated. In English, at least, there are better manuals.

Yale University. FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

L'Industrie de la Laine à Bergues-Saint-Winoc: une Industrie Urbaine du XIV^e au XVII^e Siècle. Par E. COORNAERT, Agrégé de l'Université, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1930. Pp. 112. 20 fr.)

La Draperie-Sayetterie d'Hondschoote, XIV^e–XVIII^e Siècles: un Centre Industriel d'Autrefois. Par E. COORNAERT, Agrégé de l'Université, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1930. Pp. xxxv, 520. 75 fr.)

THESE careful studies are a welcome addition to the somewhat restricted group of local monographs on the woolen and worsted industries. They are important not only for the thorough scholarship of the author and the wide range of his interests, but also for the light thrown upon conditions in the great Flemish textile district. Until the last decade, monographic and special literature was much more abundant for England and Germany than for the Franco-Flemish woolen centers. These monographs contribute notably to the establishment of a better proportion among the regional studies available. The studies are based upon a full utilization of the extraordinary resources of the local and national archives, which have presented such special linguistic difficulties to foreign scholars that the records have received less attention than they deserve.

The administrative and economic organization of the industries is presented with notable discrimination. Both centers conform to the rural rather than to the urban type, in respect to the informality of administrative regulation and in respect to the lack of the sharp occupational specialization commonly found in the large urban centers. Capitalistic tendencies appear later and do not dominate the entire manufacture even in the late sixteenth century, at the height of expansion. Industrial use of credit appears only on a small scale, and Hondschoote continued to transact most of its trade on a specie basis long after the great towns had become a part of the general European market for bills of exchange.

The administrative organization of the crafts is described in unusual detail, so that familiar functions are made vital by being put in their full contemporary setting, without schematic simplification. The work of the wardens is portrayed with unusual sympathy. On all these matters the documentation is surprisingly full.

The author's interests in the technical and geographical problems are less usual, and constitute a distinctive contribution of great significance. He asks himself why the industry at Bergues should show less economic strength than the industry of its politically less important neighbor, the

village of Hondschoote. Why, too, should Hondschoote rise to such a commanding position in the production of a specialty in the midst of a region in which the general advantages for the production of textiles were widely diffused? Although the sources have been studied with constant regard to these problems, the author hesitates to commit himself to any simple answer. He feels that the solution turns on the combination of many factors; some political, some economic. As these localities each represent important types, and as their history is deeply involved in the competition between worsteds and woolens, the record of their growth and decay possesses more general significance than is commonly the case with a local monograph. The author has made a substantial contribution to the history of the textile industries.

Harvard University. ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

BOOKS OF MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Obedience in Church and State: Three Political Tracts by Stephen Gardiner. Edited, with an Introduction, Translation, and Notes, by PIERRE JANELLE, Agrégé de l'Université, Professeur au Lycée Kléber Saint Jean, Strasbourg. (Cambridge: University Press. 1930. Pp. lxx, 221. 15 s.)

M. JANELLE has made a very valuable contribution to the study of Tudor thought by reprinting Gardiner's treatise on the royal supremacy, the *De Vera Obedientia*, hitherto accessible only in a few libraries, and by adding to it two previously unpublished tracts by Gardiner; one an answer to Pope Paul III.'s denunciation of Henry VIII. for the execution of Bishop Fisher, the other an argument with Bucer. Of the English translations, two are of the sixteenth century.

Much of the introduction is devoted to a discussion of the time and circumstances in which the tracts appeared. Here one or two corrections are needed: Francis I. sent the papal brief to Henry VIII. by a special ambassador, Jean de Dinteville, who arrived at the English Court on or about September 19, 1535, and was given leave to depart September 27. Gardiner was appointed ambassador to France, to discuss the matter with Francis I., on or shortly before October 1. Hence his letter to Cromwell, announcing the completion of both the *De Vera* and the answer to the brief, dated simply "Winchester this Sunday", appears to have been correctly assigned to September 26, 1535, by J. Gairdner. Moreover, the copy of the *De Vera* taken by Edward Fox to Germany in October, 1535, seems to have been a manuscript, not a printed copy; and it is probable that the copies mentioned by Cromwell, November 19, were the first off the press, for Chapuys, imperial ambassador in England, did not secure a copy till early in December. M. Janelle writes me that when he was preparing his introduction he was unaware of several of these contemporary references, and that his statements on these matters should be revised accordingly.

In the latter part of the introduction the relation of the three tracts to Gardiner's personal views is considered. As M. Janelle well says, Gardiner's motives in siding with the king against the pope "can only be guessed at", and his guess is perhaps as good, and certainly as interestingly put, as any other. He agrees on the whole with the guess made by some of Gardiner's contemporaries, that a mixture of fear and ambition accounts for the *De Vera*, and that the views expressed in it are therefore not entirely sincere; yet he discerns in it, as in the other tracts, certain views consistently held by Gardiner throughout his life. The thesis is ably presented, but not in all points so carefully documented as one could wish. The most suggestive, and perhaps the soundest, part of M. Janelle's introduction is that which considers wherein Gardiner, in his attitude toward the papacy, was consistent with himself throughout his career (pp. lx ff.).

Cambridge. J. A. MULLER.

Gustav Adolf. Von GEORG WITTROCK. Aus dem Schwedischen übersetzt von Dr. Phil. TONI SCHMID. (Stuttgart: Friedrich Andreas Perthes. 1930. Pp. 391. 12 M.)

THIS important study on the reign of Gustavus Adolphus was originally published in 1927 as one of the volumes in the coöperative *Sveriges Historia till Våra Dagar*. Its author, already known to students of Swedish history, here combines his own investigations in the Stockholm archives with a critical exploitation of the vast literature on this period. His book may well pass as one of the most comprehensive and authoritative studies on the greatest of Sweden's kings which we have from the pen of a Swedish historian. Since it is part of a larger collection the volume is less a biography in the narrower sense than a history of the domestic and foreign affairs of Sweden during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus.

Almost simultaneously there appeared in Germany another brilliant study on the great Swedish statesman and warrior, based on extensive studies in almost all the important archives of northern Europe, by Professor Johannes Paul, of Greifswald (*Gustav Adolf*, 2 vols., Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1930). Since both the Swedish and the German historians arrive at their conclusions quite independently of one another, a comparison between the two studies will be instructive. Each reveals a freedom from national bias and a detachment which, as anyone familiar with the German literature on this period will know, has not always been easy for Germans. Wittrock is more illuminating by a good deal on the economic, social, and constitutional history of Sweden, while Paul presents a more sharply pointed and detailed analysis of the foreign policy of Gustavus Adolphus. They are in substantial agreement on all the points in the history of Gustavus Adolphus which have been hitherto regarded as controversial. Perhaps the best touchstone of the value of the two books as compared with their predecessors is the problem of the

intervention of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War. On this point both studies constitute a decisive reaction against J. G. Droysen's *Gustav Adolf* (1870) and Moritz Ritter's *Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (vol. III., 1908). Wittrock and Paul concur in regarding Droysen's formula, according to which the statesmanship of Gustavus must be explained on purely political grounds, as inadequate. Both insist that for Sweden the situation from 1626 to 1632 was such that religion was as essential an ingredient in Swedish politics as economic affairs are in the diplomacy of the twentieth century. Both agree in regarding Gustavus's intervention in Germany in 1630 as the natural outgrowth of his war against Poland. They also agree that the decisive turn in his policy came in 1626 when he shifted the scene of his war against Poland from Livonia to what is now the Danzig Corridor with the avowed intention of being within marching distance of the German theater of the war. The support which Gustavus sent to Stralsund has its counterpart in the army which Wallenstein sent to Poland to stiffen the resistance of Sigismund, and the Swedish landing on the Pomeranian coast is described as the necessary extension of the same military operations (Wittrock, p. 195). In like manner both historians find it necessary to combat Moritz Ritter's contention that Gustavus came to Germany as a conqueror with definite plans of conquest, although Wittrock (p. 282) is somewhat less explicit on the point than Paul. It was first after the battle of Breitenfeld, as Wittrock points out, that Swedish policy assumed an aggressive character. Then, indeed, did Gustavus demand Pomerania for Sweden and unfold his project of a confederation of all the Protestant princes of the empire under the political and military leadership of Sweden (Wittrock, p. 357). In his discussion of the statesmanship of Gustavus in this last period Wittrock exercises all the restraint which the nature of the materials and the uncertainty of the situation require. A thoughtful perusal of his book forces on the reader the impression that the death of Gustavus Adolphus at Lützen was a calamity not only for Sweden but for Germany also.

Ohio State University. WALTER L. DORN.

James Wolfe, Man and Soldier. By W. T. WAUGH, M.A., Kingsford Professor of History, McGill University. (Montreal and New York: Louis Carrier and Company. 1928. Pp. 333. $5.00.)

Wolfe in Scotland in the '45 and from 1749 to 1753. By J. T. FINDLAY. (London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1928. Pp. x, 328. $6.00.)

Wolfe and North America. By Lieutenant Colonel F. E. WHITTON. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1929. Pp. 322. $4.00.)

IT is only within relatively recent years that Wolfe has come into his own with the historians. Nearly seventy years ago the publication

of Wright's *The Life of Major-General James Wolfe* provided the first adequate biography of the skilled soldier who slightly more than a century before had led the British forces to victory on the Plains of Abraham. Since that time much new material relating to the life of Wolfe and to the campaign which terminated in the surrender of Quebec has become available. Dr. Doughty in his exhaustive work, *The Siege of Quebec,* and in his admirable edition of Knox's *Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America,* and Colonel William Wood in *The Logs of the Conquest of Canada,* have produced significant new material for the biographer and the historian. There was, therefore, a place for a new biography such as is presented by Professor Waugh and for a survey of the American campaigns of the Seven Years' War such as has been made by Colonel Whitton. Mr. Findlay, through his own investigations, has added much new and interesting information regarding the earlier career of Wolfe.

The foreword to *Wolfe in Scotland*—a work published posthumously—indicates that the volume was indeed a labor of love, the result of a London journalist's pursuit of a hobby, after retirement from active professional life had provided ample leisure. The letters of Wolfe written from Scotland form the basis of the study. These have been supplemented by extensive and minute investigations into local records at Glasgow, Perth, Dundee, and other places where Wolfe was stationed with the 20th regiment of foot. His connection with this unit became of real significance. Through various changes in the senior command the youthful Wolfe was the actual commanding officer during the years from 1749 to 1752, and was given an opportunity to apply his own theories regarding the discipline and management of an infantry regiment. The 20th became recognized as one of the smartest and best disciplined units in the army, a distinction which reflected such credit on Wolfe that he was justified in making observations in a letter to his mother on the fact that he "should be thought, as I generally am, one of the best officers of my rank in the service", and that he was "not at all vain of the distinction".

Wolfe abhorred the Scottish climate, and doubtless with reason, for the cold, gnawing winds made serious inroads on his delicate constitution. He was not enamored of the Scottish race, yet he did conceive an admiration for the splendid fighting qualities of the Highlanders. Writing to his friend Rickson in Acadia in June, 1751, Wolfe suggests the use of Highlanders in Indian warfare and for outpost duty in America. "They are hardy, intrepid, accustomed to a rough country, and no great mischief if they fall. . . . If this sentiment should take wind, what an execrable and bloody being should I be considered, here in the midst of Popery and Jacobitism, surrounded on every side as I am with this Itchy Race." Five years later when war had broken out with France, a proposal that Highlanders should be enlisted in the overseas service of the kingdom was made to Pitt by the Earl of Albemarle, formerly

Wolfe's colonel, "whose knowledge of Scotland", according to Mr. Findlay, "was as slight and superficial as Wolfe's was intimate and experienced". There is, therefore, reason for attributing to Wolfe credit for a departure in policy which resulted in drawing on the man power of the Highlands of Scotland for the campaigns before Louisburg and Quebec in 1758 and 1759 and in every war in which the kingdom subsequently became engaged.

Colonel Whitton's book does not attempt to break new ground but does present an admirable survey of the American campaigns of the Seven Years' War and of the influences which determined their course of development. With justification he takes issue with an assumption made frequently that France possessed an advantage over England in America by reason of the concentration of authority in New France and the lack of united purpose and command in the English colonies. He points out that there was paralyzing friction between Vaudreuil and Montcalm and that after the appointment of Pitt there was a high degree of centralization of authority in the direction of the British campaigns.

Wolfe's success at Louisburg led to his appointment to the command of the expedition against Quebec—another land and water operation of a type of which the senior officers of the old school had no experience. Colonel Whitton gives ample credit to Admiral Saunders for his loyal aid to Wolfe and for his splendid coöperation during the course of operations before Quebec. The work of the navigators, in particular, in piloting the fleet through the Traverse merits praise, for with little difficulty they achieved what the French thought to be impossible.

Professor Waugh's biography of Wolfe was intended for the general reader. It is written in a most attractive style and, although the author modestly disclaims it to be a work of original research, it incorporates the findings of the latest research. Although his treatment of Wolfe's Scottish experiences is necessarily more limited than Mr. Findlay's and his survey of the American campaigns more summary than Colonel Whitton's, yet Professor Waugh's conclusions are in line with those of the two special treatises. This biographer makes Wolfe a living person, a person differing fundamentally from the senior officer of his day in mental outlook and in his attitude toward his profession, one whose peculiarities created misunderstanding and enmity, yet for whom, one can realize, his few intimate friends conceived an abiding affection akin to devotion.

The publishers are entitled to much credit for the excellence of the art of bookmaking displayed in this work. One may predict with assurance that this volume will be accepted as the standard biography of the great soldier to whose genius Britain owed the acquisition of Canada.

Queen's University. D. McArthur.

Constitutional History of the First British Empire. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.LITT., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, and Advocate, Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, and Lecturer on the Constitution of the British Empire at the University of Edinburgh, formerly Assistant Secretary to the Imperial Conference. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xi, 443. $7.00.)

PROFESSOR KEITH has written this volume as a textbook which might serve "as an introduction to the study of the revival and development of British colonial policy". He has not attempted to present any considerable body of new material, but has based his work mainly upon the investigations of standard authorities, amplifying his statements with references to the more accessible printed sources. The three sections of the book deal successively with the "Evolution", the "Zenith", and the "Decline" of the imperial constitution and touch, at least, upon all the more important aspects of constitutional organization and imperial control from the beginnings to the American Revolution. The concluding chapter treats of the Quebec Act and the province of Senegambia.

To most readers the possible usefulness of this book as a convenient summary for reference purposes will be quite as important as its availability as a textbook. In either case, unfortunately, the volume can be used only with great caution. Errors in detail are perhaps inevitable in a work of this character, and several occur. But more serious are the frequent statements that are only half true or are so ambiguously phrased as to be misleading. Typical examples of such unguarded or loose statements are to be found in references to the composition of the Massachusetts council after 1691; to the quorum in provincial councils; the initiative in legislation; the military authority of the secretary of state; and the development of the appellate system. In these and many other instances the unwary reader is likely to gain a definitely false impression of the facts.

Professor Keith is at his best in the last part of the book, in which he is concerned less with the machinery of government than with questions of constitutional authority. American historians will recognize his efforts to be scrupulously fair to both sides in the final struggle and most of them will probably accept his conclusions as to the legality of the British position. This section of the book is distinctly thought-provoking. But the reviewer, at least, can not escape the feeling that the treatment is too narrowly constitutional for an adequate interpretation of the period. The book does not convey a clear impression of the colonial point of view. It emphasizes the very obvious shortcomings of the assemblies without stressing equally their growth toward political maturity. The author seems unable to understand the colonial objections to many British regulations. He can not see, for example, why the colonists thought acts to restrict the importation of British felons were "laws most wholesome and necessary for the public good".

The book is seriously wanting in literary form. Sentences are often so long and involved as to lose their meanings, pronouns are introduced without reference to their antecedents, and word order is harshly wrenched from the normal. One is constantly irritated by such slips as: "No new court or judicial office could be created without the royal order; all writs must run in his name" (p. 110). More serious, because more open to misinterpretation, are such deviations from normal usage as: "New York affords a very interesting contrast to Pennsylvania and also to New Jersey, though the latter colony was an offshoot of the former" (p. 92). The whole volume shows evidence of hasty and careless composition.

The increased interest of British writers in the problems of the "First Empire" is indeed welcome to Americans, but this book leaves one with a distinct feeling of disappointment.

Yale University. LEONARD W. LABAREE.

Royal Government in America: a Study of the British Colonial System before 1783. By LEONARD WOODS LABAREE, PH.D. [Yale Historical Publications. Studies. VI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. xii, 491. $4.50.)

THIS is a well-balanced, temperate, thoroughly documented comparative study of royal government in the continental and insular provinces of America, from about 1675 to the American Revolution. The author's justification for starting with 1675 is that the provincial system had not taken form until that date. The work is based on a wide variety of sources, printed and manuscript, the latter consisting mainly of colonial office records in London. The great value of the treatment before us lies in the broad view which it offers of the application of royal authority in such widely scattered provinces as New Hampshire, Virginia, Jamaica, and Barbados. With an impressive array of illustrations, Mr. Labaree reveals that the constitutional struggles taking place in the islands exactly parallel those on the continent. They are, indeed, the same. In some respects the insular colonies were in the forefront in the contest with the royal power. It will disturb some, perhaps, to read that to the assembly of Jamaica "goes the credit for one of the earliest victories over the prerogative and one of the most important for the development of the colonial constitution".

The author has elected to stress mainly the actual governmental system, administrative, legislative, and judicial in the royal colonies. References to other phases of the colonial system, such as commerce, land, militia, religion, and imperial unity, are made incidentally. Within the limits of a brief review it is possible to note only a few high spots of this treatise. Mr. Labaree analyzes those fundamental instruments of royal authority, the governor's commission and instructions, and then proceeds in a series of ten chapters to show the relationship of these to

the actual operation of royal government. So far as the commission and instructions are concerned, the author tells little that is new. Yet an analysis of these documents is a necessary preface to the development of his theme. His contribution, in the opinion of the reviewer, consists in the revelation of the extent to which the royal prerogative, as described in these instruments, and as interpreted by crown officials on the one hand and by the representatives of the people on the other, came, in the end, to destroy itself. For more than a century no government in England would sanction a change in the instructions, nor in their use, to conform to changing conditions in the colonies. These instruments remained static throughout the entire period in the face of victory after victory on the part of the assemblies. Mr. Labaree points out how the question of the power of initiating legislation, which belonged to the governor from the prerogative point of view, was wrested from his control in Jamaica as early as 1680, when even Virginia was apparently willing, for the moment at least, to submit to the extension of Poynings's Law to America. From that date, however, the popular branch, in general, continued to initiate all legislation. The questions of the suspensive veto, the control of colonial finance, the appointment and tenure of judges, the relation of the provincial council to the governor and to the assembly, and the methods of appointment of governor and council receive extensive and comparative treatment.

In a concluding chapter entitled Government by Instruction the author attempts to assign credit for the success of the provincials in overriding the royal prerogative. On the one hand, the popular assembly in each of the twenty-one royal colonies had certain advantages which came early in the contest: "initiative in legislation, the historical example of Parliament, and the control of finance". On the other hand, there were certain inherent weaknesses in the governor's position, which pushed the prerogative to the point of annihilation. Chief of these was the lack of support from home. As already suggested, the unchanging character of the instruments of control contributed to the same end.

The work is well indexed and contains a bibliographical essay.

Miami University. C. E. CARTER.

England in the Age of the American Revolution. By L. B. NAMIER. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. viii, 518. $8.50.)

MR. NAMIER'S latest book is essentially coördinate to his *Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III.* Both center around the years 1760–1762. Both are based on a thorough study of the Newcastle MSS., reënforced with a wealth of material drawn from biographies, works of local history, and published and unpublished manuscripts, both English and American. Both sparkle with brilliant generalization as to the essential nature of the English social and political organization, interspersed with abundant citation and quotation on which the doubter may generalize for himself.

The title is somewhat a misnomer. The body of the book is really four essays dealing with successive phases of the fall of Newcastle's administration, 1760–1762. Interpolated is another essay on the House of Commons and America, and binding all together is a brilliantly written introduction which, climaxing on the note of the imperial problem, seeks to justify the use of "American Revolution" in the title.

It is a many-sided book. There are brilliant characterizations of Newcastle, Bute, and George III.; though the present reviewer feels that Mr. Namier has failed to take into account the gulf between the scared boy who noted on paper what he should answer to each of the possible things the great William Pitt might say to him and the stout-hearted, pertinacious administrator of 1778. Mr. Namier traces in delicious detail the growing mistrust between Bute and Newcastle, with that marvelous comic, Count de Viry, as go-between; as he recognizes, history here becomes the most delicate *comédie humaine.*

Much of Mr. Namier's interpretation is naturally inferred from the *Structure of Politics.* To comment on all of it would require a review as long as the book. Perhaps the most significant interpretation in the present volume is the suggestion that Newcastle was the servant of George II. rather than the leader of a governing oligarchy of 1688 Whig nobles; that the Rockingham opposition of 1770–1782 and the Whig ministry of 1782–1784 were in no sense the recrudescence of the Newcastle system which rather was reproduced in the relations of George III. and Lord North; that George II. had, in the main, his own way in his choice of ministers, exactly as George III. usually had. To the present reviewer, the very facts that Mr. Namier cites do not preclude as equally plausible a different theory.

The first two Georges ordinarily turned over their patronage, in trust, to enable a group of noble magnates to govern; a group suffering defections from time to time, replacing them by new accessions; sometimes deposing old leaders, like Walpole, and vesting their power in new ones like the Pelhams; sometimes persuading a hapless king by wholesale resignation that he was wholly in their hands; sometimes welcoming his participation in appointments and political management; a group which fell from power in 1761–1762 when George III. demonstrated that his choice of ministers could be made from a wider circle. If the Rockinghams were not the lineal descendants of this group, they, at all events, aspired to succeed to its monopoly of power. In a word, Newcastle was the pay-off man of a political machine; North was the king's hired man, intermittently striking for a raise.

In the distinctly American section of the book there are lists of Americans, West Indians, colonial administrators, agents, merchants with seats of influence in Parliament, with analyses of their American connections and their votes. There are notes on land speculators and a critique of Alvord's theory of the significance of the Canada-Guadeloupe dilemma. After all, of the American part of the book, one brilliant paragraph lingers in the reviewer's consciousness (p. 28):

Did then the eighteenth-century Parliament represent the men or the land of Great Britain? One might as well ask to whom the child owes its life, to the father or the mother? It represented both; or to put it more accurately, it represented British men rooted in the soil of Great Britain. . . . The very definition of "virtual representation" implicitly declared its character: there was "not a blade of grass in Great Britain" which was unrepresented in Parliament. But because territorial rather than tribal, the British Parliament could not (and cannot) cover those definitely rooted in other soil, nor "virtually" represent the "blades of grass" of other lands, even if inhabited by men of the same stock. The first British Empire suffered disruption because Englishmen failed as yet to distinguish . . . between the distant, sublimated authority of the Crown, symbolically "paternal", and the direct governmental power which in a free country is wielded by the sons of the soil.

The University of Illinois. THEODORE C. PEASE.

England in the Nineteenth Century, 1806–1810. By A. F. FREMANTLE. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. 510. $5.75.)

THE second volume of Mr. Fremantle's *England in the Nineteenth Century* deals with the years from 1806 to 1810 and is marked by the same high level of scholarship and style as the first, recently noticed in this *Review* (XXXV. 596–598). Although a distinctly individual work, nevertheless one might venture to predict that it promises to do for the nineteenth century what Lecky did for the eighteenth. While evincing no research in manuscript material it shows wide acquaintance with general and special works in more than one foreign language, and with printed sources as well. On the basis of these, conditions and events are pictured and set forth and interpreted, after ripe reflection, with independent judgment.

There are six rather long chapters. The first is devoted to Literature, Art, and Science. Here, in spite of all that has been written, is to be found much that is fresh and stimulating, though, on the whole, the treatment is sketchy and suggestive rather than exhaustive. One limitation is pointed out at the start: only writers are considered who shared "in the development of the thought of their age". The second chapter deals with India, and while Mr. Fremantle has the advantage of centering his narrative about the signal achievements of Wellesley, he has accomplished a considerable feat in making intelligible a small section of a subject complicated and—to many Americans—remote. Aside from his ability for grasping essentials he has helpfully identified unfamiliar persons and places. Where all too many writers on India have bewildered and wearied the reader he succeeds in holding the attention.

Chapters III. to V. inclusive treat the course of events, political, diplomatic, and military, at home and abroad, during a critical period in the Napoleonic wars, when, as Carlyle might have said once more, though the hour was great most of the honorable gentlemen—after the passing

of Pitt and Fox—were small. Of the exceptions, Wellington is characterized with discrimination; Sir John Moore is praised without reserve; Canning, who had not yet risen to his full stature, is rather severely handled; and Castlereagh would seem to be unduly depreciated. Perceval, whose good points are not ignored, is exposed to some biting comments. While Mr. Fremantle is outspoken toward policies and persons that meet with his disapproval he is, on the whole, extremely judicial. The faulty conduct of the Walcheren expedition is recognized, even though the undertaking is defended as an effective diversion. While the seizure of the Danish fleet is justified, the American attitude toward the orders in council is appreciated. Among the vivid bits are the accounts of the self-destruction of the Ministry of All the Talents and of the *opéra bouffe* conducted by Sir Francis Burdette, culminating in his arrest. The true nature of contemporary Toryism is convincingly described.

In the sixth and final chapter there are further pages on India, brief but informing paragraphs on various overseas colonies, a graphic survey of Scottish conditions, and a picture of English life at the close of the decade.

Since the style is so uniformly adequate a few oddly constructed sentences are particularly noticeable. In the opinion of the reviewer the titles of books should have been put in italics or within inverted commas; and he still feels the need of maps. A few queries might be raised. It is difficult to understand how the German people could ever have rejected Kant "as a superficial and popular writer" (p. 58). General Fitzpatrick was secretary at war and not secretary of state for war (p. 150). The villa at Chiswick where Fox died is usually stated as belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, not Bedford (p. 175). Only three misprints have been noted. However, these are merely slight blemishes in a work of great interest and distinction.

The University of Michigan. ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

L'Empire Égyptien sous Mohamed-Ali et la Question d'Orient, 1811–1849. Histoire Diplomatique d'après des Sources Privées et des Documents Inédits recueillis aux Archives du Caire, de Paris, de Londres et de Vienne, par M. SABRY, Docteur ès Lettres de l'Université de Paris, Professeur à l'École Normale Supérieure du Caire. (Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1930. Pp. 605. 75 fr.)

M. SABRY will find wide agreement in these days of diplomatic revelation with his premise that the *Question d'Orient* has been much obscured by national prejudices. Likewise he will scarcely be challenged in saying that the part played by Egypt in the affairs of Europe from the beginning of the war in the Morea to the Straits Convention of 1841 has not been appreciated. Hence his preparation of a book of more than six hundred large pages to remedy these shortcomings, a book based chiefly on materials drawn from official manuscript sources, naturally arouses keen anticipation.

A critical reader of the book, unfortunately, can not but feel that his expectations have not been realized. He quickly discovers that while much important information has been gathered from the archives in Cairo, Vienna, Paris, and London, the search did not extend far enough to warrant the application of the term "definitive" to the study. But in a subject of this magnitude, an incomplete survey of the vast mass of materials in various national archives can more readily be condoned, perhaps, than only partial reference to readily accessible printed sources; and one searches M. Sabry's chapter bibliographies in vain for any mention of a considerable number of publications in European languages essential to an adequate work in this field. It is particularly unfortunate that the author could not have availed himself of some of the more recent documentary publications of the Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, such as Driault's *L'Expédition de Crête et de Morée* and Douin's *Mohamed Aly et l'Expédition d'Alger*.

Aside from the matter of sources, however, the book fails to meet anticipations. The author does not appear to have realized that the recording of a great deal of information, whatever its intrinsic worth, does not alone constitute coherent treatment and critical analysis of a subject. His numerous passages of deep discernment and dramatic interest momentarily promising to lead on to some logical conclusion are all too frequently interrupted by irrelevant matter, which should find place in footnotes, if at all. And the rudimentary style of documentation of the text points to the absence of that critical scholarship so vitally essential to the treatment of a subject shot through and through with an intricate and confused diplomacy. Instead, then, of a fresh and well-balanced unraveling and interpretation of the career of the Albanian who was responsible for "Egypt's playing for a moment the rôle of a great power", M. Sabry has produced a kind of encyclopedia, in which the chronicler only now and then rises to the position of scientific historian.

From the point of view of proportion, perhaps relatively too much attention is given to the internal administration of the territories which came under the pasha's rule, although in this regard the author has most nearly done himself and his subject justice. An entire chapter, for example, is devoted to the Egyptian régime in Crete, while there is nothing to show that Mohammed Ali's rise to power was due largely to European preoccupation during the Napoleonic wars and to the English grain trade dependent thereon, or that his designs on the Yemen and on Persian Gulf ports were responsible in large measure for that unbending hostility of Great Britain which terminated the pasha's active career in 1840.

The book everywhere gives evidence of having been prepared with unseemly haste. The index is merely an alphabetical table of personal names. Typographical errors and inconsistencies in spelling and in text abound. Almost nowhere is there any sign of the pains and conscientious care which an author would ordinarily lavish on so important a task. But these shortcomings, serious as some of them are, should not obscure

the fact that much new and useful information is here set down. Some of the details gathered from the Citadel archives in Cairo and from the state archives in Vienna, and quoted here (in French) at length, are particularly illuminating. M. Sabry's comments, too, are generally very fair, and he is not often carried too far in his admiration for the principal character in his book. He has, in fine, produced a useful work of reference, if not a notable contribution to historical literature.

Tufts College. HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

The Political Life and Letters of Cavour, 1848–1861. By A. J. WHYTE, M.A., LITT.D. (Oxford: University Press. 1930. Pp. xv, 478. $6.00.)

THE author put himself in the way of undertaking the present study of Cavour, when in the rectory of Burton Leonard he prepared, *con amore,* his volume on *The Early Life and Letters of Cavour, 1810–1848,* published in 1925. That done, Mr. Whyte hesitated to attempt a portrayal of the political and diplomatic Cavour, writing to me at the time: "It is much easier to describe the Thames adequately at Lechlade than at London Bridge." To find a way in more difficult waters the author chose a comparatively clear course, and has modestly and strictly held to it, limiting himself to a description of Cavour's parliamentary and diplomatic activity.

True to his aim, Mr. Whyte avoids a repetition of the work of previous non-Italian biographers. His work is not a "Life and Times" such as Thayer's, or, more recently, M. Matter's. Nor does Mr. Whyte follow M. Paléologue on his exploration of the play of psychological forces. The vivid Cavour of the first volume lives on only as the statesman of many devices. Mr. Whyte's characterizations of personality remain in low relief, but they are distinguished by a tone of fairness. Only in dealing with the Roman Church does the author find it hard to maintain a Cavourian tolerance.

Mr. Whyte has written his book from a modest but wisely selected bibliography. The fact that this includes the four volumes of the *Carteggio Cavour-Nigra,* recently published by the National Editorial Commission, will give the book a special interest to English and American scholars. The author has interwoven this material skillfully and critically with documents from the older sources; and he has opened a new source in the letters of Sir James Hudson, and other documents in the Foreign Office Papers. Besides these he has had access to the Russell and Clarendon Papers and has utilized English memoirs. Working from such documents, and being English, the author naturally gives a strong emphasis to the part played by England in the unification of Italy. In this respect the book is a useful complement to M. Matter's volumes, documented from the French archives.

Mr. Whyte has not only brought to bear new materials, but having chosen a limited task has been free to give more attention to some phases

of Cavour's work than previous biographers, and he has subjected his whole theme to a vigorous, intelligent, and sympathetic interpretation of his own. He is much to be praised for the care with which he develops Cavour's economic policy from 1852 to 1856 and its significance, for there lies the corner stone of Cavour's whole political philosophy. In minimizing the rôle of the king in the initiation of the Crimean War policy, Mr. Whyte is in disagreement with M. Matter, without adducing new evidence. As for omissions, one is surprised that Mr. Whyte has not used the evidence in the *Carteggio Cavour-Nigra* to show Cavour striving to excite insurrections in the Papal States in preparation for the king's march from Turin to Naples in 1860.

The book shows some signs of haste, but Mr. Whyte has presented his views and his evidence in a prose that always marches, and has succeeded in keeping the lines clear, thanks to his remarkable skill and insight in defining the issues with which Cavour was faced. Not a popular biography, nor one that will contain surprises for the Cavourian specialist, this volume renders a fine service to the student in England and America, already well informed, who seeks a fuller and better-posted knowledge of Cavour the statesman.

The Johns Hopkins University. KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

Mein Werden und mein Wirken: Erinnerungen eines Alten Berliner Gelehrten. Von ADOLF ERMAN. (Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer. 1929. Pp. viii, 295. 12 M.)

WHEN some future historian attempts to assess the influence on present thought of the rediscovery of the ancient Near East, these memoirs of Adolf Erman will be a primary source. Erman was the great teacher of Egyptian; he names his students and the list includes nearly every outstanding Egyptologist of our time. He laid the firm foundation of scientific Egyptian grammar and crowned his work with the monumental Egyptian dictionary, now approaching completion. As director of the Egyptian museum in Berlin, he made it a great instrument for public instruction. His *Ægypten und Ægyptische Leben* once and for all made the ancient Egyptians human beings; his *Ægyptische Literatur* collected the "non-historical" writings which so vividly picture the life and thought of the average man. Both have been translated into English and have popularized Egyptian studies among English speaking peoples. Every Orientalist must read this book for the history of his study in the last generation.

The book has a more general interest. The history of his family, Huguenot refugees in Berlin, of the curious foreign enclave they formed in Germany, of the intermarriages which brought strains of German and Jewish blood into the inheritance of the future Egyptologist, all this is real material for culture history. Equally illuminating is the story of his boyhood days and student life, apparently so ill adapted to produce a university professor. Erman became a professor, but there is little of

the university in his book, no discussion of educational policies, but an openly expressed dislike of administrative routine. Aside from casual references to Droysen, Mommsen, and Eduard Meyer, there is no hint that these were the great days of German historiography. Students appear in his seminar, only to be hurried off to the museum.

Erman's heart was in his museum and in the research there conducted. The Museum lives in a world of its own and the individuals who partake of its sometimes bizarre activities are sketched in a fashion not always flattering, but vivid and amusing. Egyptologists are naturally in the front rank, the grand seignior Lepsius, Ebers, the not always accurate novelist, the lowborn but magnificent Brugsch Pasha who told the truth only in scientific literature. Egyptologists are in general courteous and willing to coöperate, but Assyriologists are too much theologians, good philologists but otherworldly, running after strange gods such as Pan Babylonianism, and always in a desperate quarrel. Museum directors who obtain sorely needed funds from millionaires by promise of decorations, dealers in antiquities who range from native tomb robbers to wealthy collectors, scholars, or even heads of museums, excavators who refuse to publish their results, all are pictured in this gallery.

We have the stories of the great finds, for instance, Erman's purchase of the better half of the invaluable Amarna letters when the rest of the learned world pronounced them forgeries. The forgeries themselves are most entertaining, the notorious Moabite antiquities bought through political influence and soon crumbling away, the parchment Pentateuch contemporary with Moses himself which was to refute the Higher Critics, the scarabs bearing an account of the Phœnician circumnavigation of Africa which deceived a great Egyptologist and sent the son of another Egyptologist to a long term in prison. The sketch of Egypt in the first days of the British occupation is a document of the first rank. To readers who enjoy the strange bypaths of Oriental studies and the interesting men who walk them, this book will be fascinating.

The University of Chicago. A. T. Olmstead.

Politische Geschichte des Neuen Deutschen Kaiserreiches. Von Johannes Ziekursch. Band III., *Das Zeitalter Wilhelms II., 1890–1918.* (Frankfurt a. M.: Frankfurter Societäts-Druckerei. 1930. Pp. 489. 11 M.)

This scholarly survey of the reign of William II. is the third and final volume of the political history of the new German Empire by Professor Johannes Ziekursch, of the University of Cologne. The work is divided into two parts entitled Germany's Political Decline and The World War.

In the first part the author discusses the beginning and end of the new course, the building of the fleet, and *Weltpolitik*, Germany's encirclement, and Bülow's foreign and internal policies. The principal authorities for each chapter of the narrative are listed in an appendix, and indicate the

wide research and intensive study of the author. The chapter on Germany's encirclement presents interesting viewpoints and is very well written. The author is at his best in the subtle delineation of the finesse of Bülow's foreign and internal policies. The chapter on the Outbreak of the World War is an excellent presentation of the German viewpoint but contains many statements of fact and conclusions of the author which are open to criticism. Excellent are his characterizations of William II., Bethmann, Tirpitz, Hindenburg, and Ludendorff.

The last chapter is concerned with the fall of the empire, and concludes with an account of the Kaiser's abdication. On October 26, William II. said to Ludendorff that he would attempt with the help of the Social Democrats to build up a new empire. Two days later he signed the proclamation concerning the alterations of the imperial constitution and went, on October 29, to general headquarters. This return to Spa was the last great political error of his reign, since it removed the constitutional head of the state from immediate contact with the civil government and political parties, increased the efforts from various quarters to secure his abdication, and finally placed him in a position which made his return to the capital possible only as a military dictator. Professor Ziekursch condemns severely the flight to the Dutch border, but in the opinion of the reviewer the record of the events of November 9 at Spa reveals that the Kaiser had no choice but to depart for neutral Holland.

The importance of this work lies in the fact that it is written by a republican historian, who has given us a new but objective interpretation of German history from 1890 to 1918. His estimates of William II., which are based in every case upon extensive source material, are generally convincing. He concludes his work with the words of Bismarck (*Ges. Werke,* IX. 325): "It can indeed be that God intends a second period of decline for Germany and after that a new period of fame upon the new basis of the republic."

Stanford University. RALPH H. LUTZ.

Kaiser and Chancellor: the Opening Years of the Reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II. By KARL FRIEDRICH NOWAK. Translated by E. W. DICKES. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xiv, 290. $3.50.)

THE perusal of a book of this kind is always a painful experience for an historian. Here is a treatment of a fascinating subject, written in a lively and attractive style and illustrated with many interesting pictures from the private collection of the former Emperor William II. The author, who is well known through his works on the *Collapse of the Central Powers* and *Versailles,* has devoted the greater part of his preface to a discussion of his sources and his methods of work. The former emperor, he says, contributed many confidential memoranda, gave him written material for important sections of the work, answered in precise terms every question that was put to him, and assisted in making the

material clear in the course of countless conversations. This information was then checked with all the documentary and memoir material available. Statesmen, ambassadors, and other persons connected with events were visited and gave additional data. This was shown to the emperor, and his comments again discussed with the author's informants. "Often a subject was dealt with five, six, ten times over." In the appendix the reader will find a long and impressive list of sources. Taken all in all the uninitiated layman would be justified in thinking that here at last was a thoroughly reliable and well-written account of one of the most dramatic episodes in modern history.

In reality the writer's work with the material is, as he says rather unguardedly, "not in evidence at a glance". Neither is it in evidence after careful examination. Whatever Herr Nowak may think of his book, and he has a high opinion of it, the historian will be unable to regard it as anything but another apology for the former emperor. The title is misleading in so far as the book gives only one side of the story, the side that has already been set forth in a number of writings by William himself. It is true that Nowak is not always easy on the emperor and that some parts of his book must have been unpleasant reading for the exile of Doorn. Nowak evidently meant to give an honest account, but he knows little if anything of the critical use of historical material and should have avoided the treatment of so difficult a subject. The book simply bristles with errors and misstatements of the most elementary sort. The whole chapter on the Incubus of Alliances is one of the most misleading and distorted accounts of Bismarckian policy that it has ever been the misfortune of the reviewer to read. Time and again statements are made that may well have come from William II., but which are disproved over and over again by materials that anyone could consult. It would take too long to analyze these questions in detail and it certainly would not be worth while. There were two sides to the struggle between the young emperor and the old chancellor, of course. No one will be disposed to accept the third volume of Bismarck's autobiography as gospel. It is good that William should have presented his viewpoint and it would have been most gratifying if Nowak or anyone else had written a review of the whole situation that would have combined fairness with critical acumen and attractive style. This book does not fulfill the requirements. In fact, it is bound to do more harm than good.

Harvard University. WILLIAM L. LANGER.

Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1871–1914. Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de Publication des Documents relatifs aux Origines de la Guerre de 1914. Série 2 (1901–1911). Tome I., *2 Janvier–31 Décembre, 1901.* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1930. Pp. xx, 723. 60 fr.)

THE remark often attributed to M. Delcassé, that it had been his aim from the moment of entering the Quai d'Orsay in 1898 to bring about

a *rapprochement* with England, receives not the slightest confirmation from this volume of documents for the year 1901. Quite the contrary. There is a reference by the French and Russian general staffs to a "convention against England" (p. 146). If the British fleet visits Tangiers, the French fleet must speedily follow suit lest Gallic prestige suffer, and similarly in the Eastern Mediterranean. When a Japanese minister presumed to tell China that France would not assist Russia in a Russo-Japanese war, M. Delcassé noted: "Who gave him this power? We must try as long as possible to avoid an outbreak between Russia and Japan. We must prevent England from finding in the Far East in Japan the soldier which she lacks" (p. 367). France also refused to coöperate with England and Germany in a move to prevent the importation of firearms on the west coast of Africa. Albion was evidently still perfidious, although a slight change toward greater friendliness on the part of the British press was noted with satisfaction.

With Italy, on the other hand, very secret negotiations were being assiduously carried on by M. Delcassé in Paris, and still more assiduously by Barrère in Rome, to secure a formula which would enable Italy to maintain neutrality during a Franco-Prussian war, in spite of her Triple Alliance obligations. These negotiations, although already well known in their main features, are here given in admirable detail and form the most important single topic in the volume. M. Barrère at times even seems to have hoped to prevent altogether Italy's renewal of the Triple Alliance. But pressure was also exerted at Rome by Germany. As Bülow observed to his mother-in-law, Mme. Minghetti, Italy must "décide vite à choisir entre le mariage et le concubinage". In the end Italy continued to enjoy both relationships, and the French were eventually content to have Italy paralyze the Triple Alliance as a "deadweight" on its bosom.

The alliance with Russia formed the mainstay of French foreign policy. An interesting report of the meeting between the French and Russian general staffs indicates their efforts to secure better submarine cable communications between the two countries, for the extension of Russian strategic railways, and for other details for closer coöperation between the French and Russian armies. In April, 1901, M. Delcassé himself again visited Russia, and one would gladly have had such a full report of his purposes and conversations as M. Poincaré gave of his visit in 1912. It is only incidentally, in later dispatches, that one learns that some of the topics discussed were a consortium loan to China to pay the Boxer indemnity, French support for the construction in Russo-Serbian interests of a railway to the coast of the Adriatic, the floating in Paris of a new Russian loan of 425 million rubles, and the French desire to participate, in spite of Russian opposition, in the construction of the Bagdad Railway. One gets the impression that the Russians, with their selfish aims in the Near East, were rather *difficile* as allies. M. Delcassé was very much annoyed that the Russian ambassador to Ger-

many should have attended a banquet given by the Kaiser at Metz, and that "Nicky" should visit "Willy" at Danzig. He reminded Montebello at St. Petersburg of Count Muraviev's admission that "our alliance will no longer have any purpose on the day that we indicate as definitive the loss of the provinces ceded in 1871" (p. 348). It is interesting to find that the French were also often annoyed at the extreme jingoism, and sometimes anti-French attitude, of the Russian Pan-Slav press.

There are singularly few documents bearing on Franco-German relations. There are a good many on the liquidation of the Boxer Rebellion and on the Russians in Manchuria. But the great bulk of the volume deals with the Near East: Roumanian oscillation; the perennial Cretan and Macedonian questions; French interests in Syria; the desirability of French loans to Serbia, Bulgaria, and Roumania; and the French seizure of Mitylene to frighten the sultan into satisfying the financial claims of French citizens against Turkey. The student interested in any one of these questions is enabled to find quickly all the documents touching it by the admirable *table méthodique* which has already been indicated here (XXXV. 863) in connection with a review of the documents of 1911 of this valuable government publication.

Harvard University. SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Coming of the War, 1914. By BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT, University of Chicago. Two volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930. Pp. viii, 539; 515. $10.00.)

PROFESSOR SCHMITT has devoted more than ten years of intensive study to the origins of the Great War and has made four visits to Europe, where he interviewed many of the statesmen and diplomatists who had taken a leading part in the events of July, 1914. This work bears witness to the author's amazing knowledge of the well-nigh overwhelming mass of material and is the most detailed analysis of the immediate causes of the war yet published in any language. Two introductory chapters, The European System and The Near East, sketch the background of the conflict. As regards the crisis itself Professor Schmitt refrains from setting up a scale of responsibilities, but it is evident that he considers the Central Powers, especially Germany, as primarily responsible. His chief reasons seem to be: (1) the German-Austrian military convention of 1909; (2) the ultimatum to Serbia; (3) the declaration of war on Serbia; and (4) the German ultimatums and declarations of war on Russia and France—whereas the Russian general mobilization appears to him as a secondary issue. In a book on the outbreak of the war (*Die Europäische Politik in der Julikrise 1914*, published by the Parliamentary Investigating Committee of the Reichstag) completed at the same time as Professor Schmitt's *Coming of the War*, February, 1930, the present reviewer has expressed similar views regarding points 2 and 3, which, no doubt, in-

volve a serious charge against the Central Powers;[1] but he thoroughly disagrees with the other points.

The military convention of 1909, if the term "convention" be admitted as correct, was politically valid only for the specific situation of the Bosnian crisis. During the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 it did not come into consideration, and in 1914 the German government adhered to her declaration that she herself would not mobilize if Russia mobilized only against Austria, an attitude in flat contradiction to the "convention". If it had been considered valid in 1914, the Austrian government would have based her proposed action on it. Professor Schmitt's line of argument concerning this issue is therefore not without objection (I. 15–18, II. 148, 176, 182, 198). His statement that the German use of the words "the obligations of the alliance", in July, 1914, to cover the contingency of an Austro-Hungarian action against Serbia "affords the clearest proof of the binding character of the letters exchanged by the two chiefs of staff", *viz.*, Moltke-Conrad (I. 305*), is a complete misreading of Germany's point of view. Professor Schmitt himself declares that the rulers in Vienna "rightly regarded the Serbo-Russian ambitions as fatal to the very existence of the Monarchy" (I. 373), and that was exactly the position taken by Germany in 1914; it was a consideration well within the scope of the Dual Alliance.

As regards point 4 and the Russian general mobilization, the author practically admits that the latter "could have been postponed for another twenty-four hours without serious military disadvantage", but he repeatedly argues that the Russian general mobilization did not make the European war inevitable (II. 267, 330, 481). Yet the evidence to the contrary is by this time overwhelming. In defense of Russia the author even contends that "as a sovereign state Russia was legally entitled to dispose of her troops within her own territory as she saw fit". What would have been said, one wonders, if Germany had claimed this right for herself? In stating that by July 31 "the Russian Government considered war certain" (II. 314), Professor Schmitt leaves entirely out of account Sazonov's own confession that already on July 29 he considered a European war inevitable and that consequently he had lost "every interest" in the still pending negotiations, as they were "of no further use".

[1] The essential facts up to July 28 are: Vienna, encouraged by Berlin, seized the occasion of the murder for a reckoning with Serbia; the ultimatum was meant to be unacceptable; Berlin knew this, but was very insufficiently informed of Austria's designs on the integrity of Serbia; the Central Powers trusted that Great Britain would, at least in the beginning, remain neutral and thus prevent Russia and France from resorting to extreme measures, but accepted the possibility of Russian armed intervention. Professor Schmitt's contention, with regard to the declaration of war on Serbia, that Berlin was "frantically urging" Austria-Hungary to take "the final plunge" (II. 65), is decidedly exaggerated, though Berlin must share the responsibility for this premature step. Professor Schmitt failed, however, to state adequately the reasons for Germany's action.

In contrast to the belittling of the purport of the Russian general mobilization too much stress is laid upon the German ultimatums and declarations of war. In 1902, at French suggestion, Italy and France agreed that a declaration of war as the result of a direct provocation was not to be considered an act of aggression; as examples of a direct provocation were given the Ems Dispatch, the refusal of William I. to receive Benedetti, and the Schnaebele case. Surely none of these examples bear any serious comparison with the premature mobilization of Russia's huge forces, while negotiations were still pending. According to these Italo-French agreements Germany would have been even fully justified in answering the Russian general mobilization with an *immediate* declaration of war.

The author exhibits a remarkable understanding of the military requirements of the different nations, and it is a welcome feature of his book, often neglected by others, that he points out the bearing of the military situation on the current diplomatic negotiations. Yet his conclusion that the German general staff was less concerned over the Russian mobilization than over the activity of the Belgians at Liége so far lacks convincing proof. If the military archives in Berlin as well as in Leningrad, Moscow, London, Paris, and Vienna should be generally opened, it would then, the reviewer is convinced, transpire that Marshal Joffre's reference to "nos conventions militaires avec l'Angleterre" was not "probably an exaggeration", as Professor Schmitt thinks (I. 47*), and that these conventions were, in fact, much more detailed than the German-Austrian arrangements of 1909. The author's contention that Berlin, before it knew of Russia's fatal step, had, by July 30, practically decided on war, is even more unconvincing. Bethmann-Hollweg's actions up to July 28 are certainly open to many criticisms, but to insinuate that his efforts of July 29 and 30 were mere sham is an entire misrepresentation of his character.[2] Had he been the Machiavelli pictured by the author he would have informed Vienna again and again that he was only trying to circumvent the powers. As it is, Count Berchtold "was never in the slightest doubt as to the sincerity of German peace efforts from this time (July 29) onward or that Germany meant what she said in her pressure telegrams" (*Current History*, July, 1928, p. 623). The many suspicions thrown on the German government and Bethmann-Hollweg, often on very thin, or in the face of contradictory evidence (I. 288, 320; II. 57, 62, 66–67, 71,

[2] The reviewer considers it unfortunate that Bethmann-Hollweg had died before Professor Schmitt could interview him, because he believes that he would then have agreed with Dr. G. P. Gooch: "The unsullied character and love of peace of the fifth German Chancellor are as incontestable as his incapacity for his post" (*Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*, London, 1927, p. 27). Noteworthy is also Harold Nicolson's verdict that "Grey shares with Bethmann Hollweg the honor of being, alone of pre-war statesmen, morally unassailable" (*Sir Arthur Nicolson, First Lord Carnock*, London, 1930, p. 334). Professor Schmitt finished his book before having read this important contribution to history.

74–75, 121, 126, 128–131, 141–143, 146–148, 155, 170–172, 186–187, 198–212, 263, 265, 269–272, 276–278, 325–326, 333), give the impression that Professor Schmitt tried hard to make out the strongest case possible against Germany. This would not be objectionable had he applied the same method and measures all around. But then Sir Edward Grey, the author's evident hero, as well as Sazonov, Berchtold, Poincaré, etc., would have emerged as a similarly sinister figure. With regard to Germany every shred of evidence is minutely scrutinized and readily interpreted in an unfavorable light, while important material detrimental to the Entente is often sympathetically explained, or relegated to footnotes, or left out entirely. Moreover, benefit of doubt is not accorded to all sides, as it has been done in the following cases: Dimitrijevich (I. 229), Serbian government (247), De Margerie and Messimy (II. 233), Viviani (380). Among the omissions is the fact that Dumaine's conviction (mentioned I. 472, note ‡), was based on "admissions by the Servian Minister", which gives the report great significance; and the statement of Sazonov in the Liman von Sanders conference of January, 1914, that he could count on the "active support" of France "to the utmost limit", having been assured by Delcassé "in the name of the French Foreign Minister that France would go as far as Russia wished". Colonel House's significant opinion, expressed in May, 1914, is also not mentioned: "Whenever England consents, France and Russia will close in on Germany and Austria." The strenuous efforts of the Entente to camouflage Russian general mobilization are hardly touched upon. Another point to be noted is that in a number of cases Professor Schmitt's translations from German sources give his text a noticeable coloring.[3] A suspicious mind might easily conclude from all this that the book was written with a definite aim. This would, the reviewer is convinced, be a serious mistake, and *The Coming of the War* unquestionably deserves the careful study of all those who are interested in the vital problem of "war guilt".

In whatever light the negotiations of 1914 are viewed—Professor Schmitt admits that the very existence of Austria-Hungary was at stake—Russia herself was not even threatened; this consideration alone, together with Russia's premature general mobilization, shows where the chief responsibility lies. The present writer agrees with Harold Nicolson that "The main onus of responsibility falls upon Serbia, Russia and Austria".

Munich, Bavaria. HERMANN LUTZ.

[3] Examples of incorrect translation: "an eventual action" instead of "a possible action" (I. 306); "bowled over" instead of "dejection" (I. 495); "to precipitate" instead of "bring about" (II. 138); "humiliate" instead of "punish" (II. 182); "convincing" instead of "half-way convincing" (II. 193); proposal of Tisza (II. 218–219) is misinterpreted; quotation from Bethmann (II. 320 §), wrong; quotation from Bethmann (II. 406 †), "The phrase must have been a slip", quite wrong; "Nonsense!" of German Emperor (I. 489) refers to second part of quotation.

A Refutation of the Versailles War Guilt Thesis. By ALFRED VON WEGERER. Translated from the German by EDWIN H. ZEYDEL. Introduction by HARRY ELMER BARNES. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1930. Pp. xxix, 386. $3.00.)

IT is often forgotten that article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles was based on a Report presented to the Peace Conference by a special commission of fifteen members. This document, though never published officially, was communicated to the German delegation and was made the subject of some Observations by four German experts. The Allied and Associated Powers, however, stood their ground; indeed in the covering note to their ultimatum of June 16, 1919, they permitted themselves a long indictment of German militarism and aggressive diplomacy. Herr von Wegerer, the editor of the *Berliner Monatshefte*, now offers a reply. Since the Report was based chiefly on the diplomatic papers published in 1914, he has no difficulty in showing that many of its statements were incorrect or exaggerated, although his remark that "only slight and, for the most part, unimportant changes and omissions were to be found" in the German *White Book* of 1914, calls for comment. The manipulation of the dates of the telegrams exchanged between William II. and Nicholas II. was certainly not "unimportant". Herr von Wegerer then assumes the offensive and cites the post-war publications and revelations to prove that the Entente Powers, more particularly Russia, and not the Central Powers, were responsible for the war. But apart from some interesting arguments in defense of the German contention that the Russian mobilization forced Germany into war, his presentation of the "revisionist" thesis follows conventional lines.

On many points, however, Herr von Wegerer's version of events has to be challenged. Thus to speak of "the joint knowledge and co-responsibility of the Serbian Government in 1914" (p. 13) is rather stretching the evidence, even if the famous statement of Lyuba Yovanovich be accepted at its face value. How he can write that "there was no thought of any determined programmatic will to war" in Austria up to the declaration of war against Serbia (p. 333) is a mystery, in view of what we know about the views of Berchtold and Conrad. When he quotes Prince Stolberg for the view that Berchtold and Hoyos thought that "Serbia *can* accept the demands" to be embodied in the ultimatum (p. 67), he omits Stolberg's subsequent remark in the same report (*Kautsky Documents*, no. 87) that "Hoyos has just told me that the demands were really of such a nature that no nation which still possessed self-respect and dignity could possibly accept them". Herr von Wegerer would have us believe that Austria offered "assurances that the sovereignty and integrity of the Kingdom [Serbia] would be preserved" (p. 256). Actually, Berchtold's assurances avoided references to the "integrity" of Serbia, for he and Tisza both contemplated the partition of Serbia. Herr von Wegerer's subsequent reference to "a slight diminution of Serbia in favour of her Bulgarian neighbour" (p. 257) is disingenuous.

while the statement that the plans of partition revealed to Lichnowsky by the Austrian diplomatists in London were "not in keeping with the views of Count Berchtold" (p. 71) is simply incorrect.

What happened at Potsdam and Berlin on July 5 and 6 is glossed over, for there is no mention of the fact that William II. and Bethmann-Hollweg sanctioned the Austrian proposal to "march into Serbia", no reference to the consultations between the naval authorities and the steps taken in consequence thereof. The "passing on" to Vienna of Grey's proposal for an extension of the time limit of the ultimatum is also treated in equivocal fashion (pp. 76–77). Jagow told Rumbold that the proposal had been passed on immediately, while in fact he waited until it was too late; but Herr von Wegerer does not mention this. He is also discreetly silent, when discussing Germany's rejection of a conference, about Berlin's pressure on Vienna to begin military action. He even dares assert that "there is absolutely no proof that the German Government 'encouraged' [as stated in the Report] Austria to declare war on Serbia" (p. 251). The Austrian *Red Book* of 1919 (vol. II., nos. 32 and 67), and the *Kautsky Documents* (no. 213), provide conclusive proof. The statement that "the Serbian reply was not yet known in the [German] Foreign Office" when a telegram was received from Vienna (4:37 P.M.) announcing the declaration of war against Serbia as imminent (p. 264) is refuted by the testimony of the Austrian ambassador in Berlin that the reply was handed in at noon. From lack of space, many other questionable assertions can not be considered, but the examples given indicate that Herr von Wegerer is not always accurate.

Several quotations in this review show that the translation is often stilted. "Baltischport" and "Triplois" are not English. Both "Sarajevo" and "Serajevo" are used, and the transliteration of Russian names does not follow any one system.

The University of Chicago. BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

The Real War, 1914–1918. By Captain B. H. LIDDELL HART. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. Pp. xii, 508. $4.00.)

"To do good is noble; to teach others to do good is nobler, and no trouble." So Mark Twain inscribed in an autographed volume—and Captain Liddell Hart now demonstrates how much easier it is to assemble a mosaic of criticisms than to attempt an historical narrative. The word "real" in a title arouses dubious recollections; and this *Real War* presents not a record of what happened but a kaleidoscope of hypothetical contingencies which might have arisen if at every turn the various commanders had followed the various (and contradictory) courses suggested in after years by their critics. This modern *genre* of hypothetical history no one has worked out so methodically and comprehensively as the present author; nor has anyone been able to create an attitude of such complete and unerring "Critical Infallibility". From the beginning of

the war to the end, over the whole panorama of battle fronts, we are shown, most plausibly, that whatever was done was done wrongly; and even the most successful strokes are revealed as accidents contrary to plan and intention.

In this vast mirage the one clear and constant feature is the *dénigrement* of professional leadership. In all periods and all countries the response to this has proved so prompt and hearty that the time has come, perhaps, to recognize it as an inevitable phase of the historical equation. The stupidities of the United States Regulars formed the high spots of Ben Butler's story; and the moron High Commands of 1914 have offered a rich pay-streak to post-war writers. In all these respects Captain Liddell Hart follows safe and conventional lines. His book stands out by the dialectical skill with which hostile criticism is presented as a narrative of fact, the adroitness with which each leader's rôle is whittled away in turn by presenting it in the words of some hostile critic. Galliéni's *Memoirs* (now, in 1930!) are cited as evidence against Joffre; Ludendorff is called in to belittle Falkenhayn; Hoffmann and others then invoked to confute Ludendorff; while to quash Foch and Haig in a question of strategy the author appeals to the high authority of Major General James T. Dickman, U. S. A. In his own contributions, the author often resorts to the "brilliant audacity"; *e.g.*, "Alike in mobilization and use the conscript armies of the Continent were almost unmanageable". It would have been a comfort to have known this in 1914, about the time that Von Kluck reached Senlis—exactly four weeks after the mobilization order.

The author notes: "I take the opportunity to acknowledge the great debt which all serious students of the war owe to the *Army Quarterly*. . . . No periodical in any country has kept or marked so clear a track for students of war." This is no overstatement of the author's indebtedness, but to recover this clear track his readers must return to the *Army Quarterly*. Even those excellent reviews, however, do not take the place of the volumes they survey, and more than once the author's text is at odds with the sources listed in his impressive bibliography.

Cambridge. T. H. Thomas.

The Recovery of Germany. By James W. Angell, Associate Professor of Economics in Columbia University. [Publication of the Council on Foreign Relations.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1929. Pp. xiii, 425. $4.00.)

Among the questions which this book seeks to answer, the following are perhaps of major significance and interest: (1) To what extent has the German economic system been restored? (2) Have the huge foreign loans contracted since 1924 been sufficiently productive to warrant the high rates of interest paid? (3) How have the reparation payments been made? (4) Can the reparation and private debt obligations presumably be met in the future?

The author presents a succinct summary of the trends in the basic industries since 1924, concluding that "Germany has reestablished her industrial supremacy on the Continent, and has regained the largest part of the world leadership she held before the War". Agriculture, on the other hand, remains seriously depressed, the physical volume of production being distinctly less than before the war.

The amount of the foreign borrowings from 1924 to 1928 is estimated at eighteen to nineteen billion marks, with offsetting German credits abroad of about three billion marks. Mr. Angell concludes that, since at least the more important industries have been easily able to meet these charges out of the profits of expansions to plant and equipment, "the underlying situation as a whole can in no way be regarded as abnormal or unhealthy". In the reviewer's judgment, the analysis of this problem is quite unconvincing. No effort is made to determine what percentage of the foreign loans have been devoted to expansion of plant and equipment, what part to municipal and public enterprises, which are at best only indirectly productive, or what part to the replenishment of the money supply and stocks of raw materials and other supplies that were dissipated during the inflation years. A considerable part of the foreign borrowings was certainly required merely to put Germany back into a position where her economic system could operate at all. Moreover, since the profits referred to were earned in a boom period, when, as the author admits, the prices of finished goods were rising much more rapidly than the prices of raw materials, they can hardly be used as a criterion of permanent earning capacity. Incidentally, the author's hope that Germany's capacity to pay reparations will increase in the future is largely based upon the belief that this price situation will be corrected. It is difficult to see how the author can pronounce the underlying situation as a healthy one (p. 215) and at the same time admit that the "internal price tension is far from healthy" (p. 218).

Reparation obligations have thus far been made entirely from the proceeds of loans, the payments in fact being only a fraction of the amount of the foreign borrowings. For some years to come, moreover, capacity to pay will be measured by capacity to borrow. For the long run, however, the author expresses the unqualified opinion that "the burden now proposed by the Young Plan is one which Germany can carry and under which she can grow and prosper at a reasonable though not rapid rate". Here again the author's analysis is far from satisfactory. He makes an excellent statement of the difficulties with which Germany is confronted in developing an export surplus out of which reparation payments can alone in the long run be met. He remarks,

> Germany can be regarded as being in largest part a great factory, but one which is not completely self supporting. She imports raw materials from other countries, works them up, and exports a much greater value of manufactured goods in payment. But she is also compelled to import large quantities of foodstuffs to support her industrial population. These

(food imports) far more than offset the export surplus secured directly from manufacturing operations, and leave the country with a substantial net deficit in her foreign trade as a whole.

He also points out that the commercial policies of other countries are directed against an expansion of German exports and says,

In effect Germany is in the painful position of offering payments against her obligations abroad which the creditors insist on receiving, yet at the same time refuse to take. Nor is there any group of neutral third countries to which she could (greatly) increase her exports.

It is obviously impossible, in the face of such diverse and uncontrollable factors, to make *quantitative* estimates as to future paying capacity. The only scientific conclusion at which an economist can arrive is that nobody can pierce the veil of the future and determine whether an excess of exports of any given magnitude can be developed.

The Brookings Institution. H. G. MOULTON.

Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches: eine Darstellung seiner Entstehung, seines Wesens und seiner Entwicklung bis zur Neuesten Zeit. Von O. FRANKE. Band I., *Das Altertum und das Werden des Kunfuzianischen Staates.* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Company. 1930. Pp. xxvi, 431. 28 M.)

THE author has here presented us with the initial portion of what is to be a new history of China. The work, as projected, is to be in three volumes. The first brings the story through the later Han dynasty, and centers around the theme of the formation of the Confucian state. The second is to carry the narrative over the remaining seventeen hundred years during which China was ruled by that type of government, to the collapse of the imperial institution in 1911–1912. The third is to contain source materials, discussions of special problems, and supplementary notes and explanations. The author partially disarms criticism at this stage of his work by requesting that reviewers withhold their final judgment until after the appearance of the third volume.

About this first volume, taken by itself, certain comments can, however, properly be made even now. The author sees clearly the difficulty of writing a comprehensive history of China when, as is at present the case, so few of the monographic studies have been made which must underlie any permanently valuable work of that scope. Nevertheless, he believes that sufficient information is at our disposal for the sort of task to which he has set himself—a sketch of the main outlines of the history of the Confucian state. He believes it to be due to this form of state that China was so successful in achieving and retaining cultural unity. Because the author deliberately specializes on this phase of China's history, the first volume is chiefly an account of political events and constitutional development. After one chapter on the geography of China and another on its people, the author plunges at once into his narrative, commencing

with what is known of the origins and early stages of China's civilization. A little less than a third of the volume is devoted to the Chou dynasty, and almost a half to the Ch'in and the Han. While the volume is almost completely lacking in footnotes, throughout the text there are repeated references, usually by page or folio, to Chinese and foreign books which make it obvious that the author has extensively used the standard Chinese sources—from which he frequently quotes at length—and many books and articles in Western languages. On the moot question of the authenticity of the pre-Confucian history, the author takes a moderately conservative position: he is more inclined to give credence to the traditional views than are many contemporary Chinese scholars or such a Western sinologist as Maspero. He appears, however, to be aware of the doubts which have arisen and agrees with some of them. He devotes surprisingly little space to the philosophical schools of the Chou. These were so largely social and political in their outlook and they played so large a part in the formation of the Chinese imperial state that it is strange that in a work with the avowed purpose of this one, their origins and main tenets should be passed over so briefly. The volume adds very little, if anything, of importance to our knowledge of the subject. On the pre-Ch'in period it is not the equal of Maspero's great book, *La Chine Antique*. On the Ch'in and the Han in some respects it is not so good as Grousset's *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient*, but it is probably better than any summary covering the entire period of the two dynasties which we now have in a Western language.

Yale University. K. S. LATOURETTE.

The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan. By YOSOBURO TAKEKOSHI. Three volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xxix, 555; xvi, 566; xv, 436. $16.50 the set.)

WITH the aid of financiers and scholars, Mr. Takekoshi gathered a large mass of material, wrote with his own hand the whole of his heroic work, and, in 1920, published it under the title *Nihon Keizai Shi* (economic history of Japan), in eight volumes containing some 5500 pages. The present English edition, bearing a more appropriate title, is a somewhat abridged version.

It is exceedingly unpleasant to have to find fault with a work which owes its birth to the generosity of public-spirited men and to the unremitting labor of the author, and which has been brought forward with great confidence and pride. But, in the service of truth, it would be as wrong to leave unchallenged the many grave defects which are patent on the face of the work as it would be not to commend its high excellence in other respects. From the standpoint of the critic, the contents of the work may be sharply divided into two parts: the ages before 1600, and the period between that year and 1868. In method and in substance, the first part is as infelicitous as the second part is admirable. The

contrast is so striking that the critic, in seeking to be equally just to both parts, might seem too severe with the one and too generous with the other.

For the long ages from the pre-Reform period to the end of the civil war, Mr. Takekoshi was obliged largely to deal with sources in the critical use of which he was untrained. A still more grievous fault is that he attacked those difficult sources with his fixed habit of ratiocinating and of arguing deductively, quite often with no proof or with texts which do not prove, in order to develop grandiloquent theories, which he would at the next moment cite as established truths. And at the base of this continual ratiocination were certain great institutional terms, such as "slavery", "manor", "feudalism", and the like, which are conceived with astounding looseness. Upon such foundations and by such a method the author has erected with ingenuity and in great seriousness an edifice which can not stand. The reader is greeted at every step with one example or another of Mr. Takekoshi's confident theoretical assertions which too often possess no value from the juridical or institutional point of view. The unfortunate result is that many of the most difficult and most fundamental problems of medieval Japanese history—for example, the origin of the private warrior (who is called "a slave") and of vassalage and infeudation, the origin of the *shō* domain (called "manor") and the growth of its immunity, the whole thorny question of the rights on land in the successive ages, the exercise of public powers by *shōgun* and baron, and other essential characteristics of Japanese feudalism and their profound effects on social economy—are either treated with loose dogmatism or not even conceived as problems. The author has nevertheless presumed with extremely meager secondhand information to draw innumerable comparisons with European developments, resulting in amazingly erratic parallels. It would have been infinitely better to strike them out altogether; but a drastic elimination would have shaken some of the foundations of Mr. Takekoshi's building, for several of his alleged parallels, such as concern "slavery", "manor", and "fief", are not merely ornamental, but structural: he has allowed his very theories to be fashioned by them.

The critic can rejoice in finding that to the second part of the work has been allotted more than two-thirds of the entire space. It is on the Tokugawa period, as also on the economic aspects of the preceding years, say, of the sixteenth century, that Mr. Takekoshi's powers are shown at their best. The treatment is ample and remarkably comprehensive, so that the careful reader can not fail to gain a wide and firm grasp at once of the political, the social, and the economic history of these ages. On the political history, the estimate of the work of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, Iéyasu, and other historic characters, seems on the whole just and penetrating; and the Korean expedition, the Catholic propaganda, and the decline and fall of the Tokugawa shogunate, are treated with lucidity and much originality. As regards the social aspects, the encroachment upon the immunity of the *shō* by the *shōgun's* agents in the Kamakura

period, the manifestations in varied forms of the rise of the commoners during the civil war, the effects of the introduction of gunpowder and firearms, the inability of the early Tokugawa *shōgun* to levy taxes upon the barons, and the village administration and the peasant taxation after 1600, are, apart from the intrusion of the author's pet theories, discussed with ability and suggestiveness. One will be still more grateful for Mr. Takekoshi's economic chapters, and those on the foreign trade, and on the finances and the currency of the shogunate, the two matters which were closely interwoven with each other. It is true that some of these points have been more thoroughly studied by such other scholars as Anesaki, Fujii, Honjo, Kuromasa, Miura, Ono, and Takimoto, but Mr. Takekoshi's work is of none the less abiding value. In its English form, the work is a worthy complement of Murdoch's third volume, and is much the fuller and more satisfactory of the two.

The American printer has misspelt the author's first name from Yosaburo to Yosoburo, and thereby unwittingly murdered it, for Yosoburo is no Japanese name whatever.

Yale University. K. Asakawa.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Criminal Law in Colonial Virginia. By Arthur P. Scott. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1930. Pp. ix, 335. $4.00.)

The importance of colonial legal experiments in the evolution of modern American law and in the social and intellectual life of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is finally achieving recognition. The publication of a number of monographs and the establishment of research and publication foundations within the last few years have served to focus attention upon this field. Professor Scott's scholarly volume is devoted to an examination of the criminal law in a province where resemblances to the English legal system far outweighed colonial modifications. The Virginia criminal law was in the main transplanted English law and such modifications as the banishment or whipping of the prisoner in the absence of proof of guilt, speedy trials and executions, and disregard of jury trial in minor penal offenses, are attributable to the informal and irregular justice of the frontier.

The author has provided an exemplary treatment of criminal procedure, which was in the main modeled along English lines, and has adopted a practicable and useful classification of crimes. His section devoted to offenses against the government and the public peace is especially illuminating. Throughout the colonies, as the eighteenth century advances, private property is afforded increasingly effective safeguards. In Virginia this tendency is clearly manifest in an increase in the penalties for crimes against property, and undoubtedly the deliberate selection of jurors from the property-holding class aided the more effective prosecution of offenders. The unemployment problem was easily solved in a

society where the unemployed who did not possess property were given criminal correction. The humanitarian spirit is not in evidence until well after the Revolution.

The chapter devoted to offenses against public morals is unsatisfactory. It is impossible to provide an adequate treatment of this subject without considering the rôle of the Church as a disciplinary body. Especially is this true of the section devoted to sexual offenses. Here the material is very skimpy and the conclusions founded on statutory sources. Statute books, colonial or modern, hardly afford us a safe guide in determining the extent to which the laws are enforced.

In the chapter on procedure further amplification of the material on the petit jury and its departures in Virginia usage from what we have come to regard as the orthodox institution would have been of much value. Some description of prison conditions, which appear to have been deplorable, would also have been welcomed. The author, in citing "the rule that husband and wife might not testify against each other" (p. 93), has confused the incompetence of the spouses to testify in behalf of each other with the privilege to refuse to testify for anti-marital facts at common law.

The points of contact and comparison between the criminal law of Virginia and that of the other British colonies in America are too significant to be overlooked. Yet the author indicates no sense of this relationship. Within these limitations, however, the volume is an important contribution to the legal history of the colonies. A valuable bibliography is appended, but the index is inadequate.

College of the City of New York. RICHARD B. MORRIS.

Diary of Frederick Mackenzie, giving a Daily Narrative of his Military Service as an Officer of the Regiment of Royal Welch Fusiliers during the Years 1775–1781 in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York. Two volumes. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1930. Pp. vii, 737. $10.00.)

THE brief excerpts from this diary which were published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1890 and by the Harvard University Press in 1926, inspired the hope that eventually every extant portion of it might be printed. This has now been done in two handsome volumes, unedited, to be sure, but containing photostatic copies of original maps and diagrams and an excellent index. The outstanding characteristic of the document is its combination of keen observation and cool objectivity. The author rarely betrays his emotions. He is principally concerned to record concisely and accurately what is of professional interest to him as a competent soldier. The curtain of reticence which hides his feelings is lifted only when his artistic sense is touched by scenic beauty. While he must have been acquainted with much gossip of barrack and bivouac, he rarely unbosoms himself to the extent of repeating a *bon mot* or recounting a scandal. This scientific objectivity is preserved with few

exceptions toward the "rebels", for whom he discloses little or no animosity.

Any diary is likely to contain many details which considered by themselves are trivial and unimportant. The present one is no exception to the rule. Much space is devoted to extracts from colonial newspapers, to speculations regarding operations in distant theaters of the war, to unimportant movements of ships and soldiers, and to matters of routine. The information relative to the organization of the British army is confirmatory of what is known rather than anything new. The difficulties involved in obtaining adequate fuel supplies, the continual desertion from the royal ranks, the rascally character of the commissaries, the solicitude of those commanding the forces of the Crown to conduct the war in a gentlemanly manner, and the jealousy which frequently prevailed in British military and naval circles—all are richly illustrated. The work derives its value largely from the accounts contained in it of several episodes of which Mackenzie had first-hand knowledge. His narrative of the fighting of April 19, 1775, is recognized as a contribution of importance to the military history of the war. Less significant but nevertheless valuable are the concise and graphic descriptions of the burning of New York and the capture of Fort Washington. The account of the former incident is interesting as confirming the impression, created by original narratives of the battles of Lexington and Concord, of the sluggish character of Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith. The record of the operations in Rhode Island from 1777 to 1778 surpasses in its abundance of detail all other accounts by British participants. The story of the capture of General Richard Prescott, with an accompanying diagram, is useful in checking and supplementing American accounts. Taken all in all, the *Diary* helps to recreate the atmosphere prevailing within the royal lines and to illustrate what matters of professional interest claimed the attention of British officers in the American Revolution.

Wellesley College. EDWARD E. CURTIS.

The Makers of the Unwritten Constitution. By WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO. [The Fred Morgan Kirby Lectures, delivered at Lafayette College, 1929.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. 156. $1.50.)

The Development of American Political Thought. By WILLIAM SEAL CARPENTER, Associate Professor of Politics in Princeton University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1930. Pp. vi, 191. $2.00.)

IN these slender volumes two political scientists invade the field of American history, with no apologies for violating the taboo at "crossing the line" between departments which prevails in most American universities. "History", writes Professor Munro, "does not exist for the erudite alone"; and the four beautifully concise lectures in which he

explains how Hamilton, Marshall, Jackson, and Wilson helped fill in "the silences of the Constitution" disarm any impulse to cavil at his omission of Taney, say, and Lincoln, or to resent his demonstration that history need not be written by historians alone.

Sooner or later, it would seem, the political scientist, lawyer, or economist must try his hand at history; sometimes (remembering Maitland) he goes the historian one better at his own game. And it is possible that the historian, uncomfortably aware of his own limited mastery of those special disciplines and secretly envious of the apparent ease with which their experts move into his own field, is unduly tempted to show a lack of graciousness, even a 'certain condescension', in appraising their efforts. The files of historical journals contain many acrid remarks on the propriety of the cobbler sticking to his last; too many historians have relieved their envy or indignation in reviews gloating over inaccurate dates or misspelt proper names. So here it may be admitted that Professor Carpenter, who starts his account of American political thought with the ingenuous remark that "there is no distinctively American political theory", may irritate his historical readers by his occasional chapters presenting, almost in catalogue form, strings of quotations from obscure pamphlets. It is so easy for the historian, trained to grapple as best he can the whole range of human behavior on successive occasions, to distrust any approach to an historical period from the standpoint of one special technique and for him to deplore the misleading effect of quotations isolated both from their own context and from the full historical background of their times.

Of these volumes, Professor Munro's disclaims any ambition to add new facts; his problem was one of summary historical interpretation, and we can but frankly envy the result. As for Professor Carpenter, however, when he proceeds by intricate and subtle analysis to conclude that "the Constitution was, from the point of view of eighteenth century political theory, a democratic document", he challenges the whole tendency of recent discussion of the Constitution (as compare Munro's statement that it "was not a democratic document"), and thus invites our complaint that he did not discard his rather sketchy later chapters and use his whole volume to set that very novel thesis in an historical as well as a theoretical background. Or is that our own proper business, now that a political scientist has given us our lead?

Swarthmore College. FREDERICK MANNING.

Greyhounds of the Sea: the Story of the American Clipper Ship. By CARL C. CUTLER. With a Foreword by CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Secretary of the Navy. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1930. Pp. xxvii, 592. $15.00.)

MR. CUTLER'S work is the most ambitious history of the clipper ship yet written. It represents considerable research, and supplies much information from log books, newspaper files, and other sources, not found

in any other book on the subject. The clipper ship, it may here be said, for the benefit of the fresh-water reader, is quite a different breed of cats from the Baltimore clipper. It began where the other left off. The Baltimore clipper was (to state it broadly) a combination of knife-edge and skimming dish, capable of remarkable knots of speed, but with slight carrying capacity and dangerous withal. She was liable not only to capsize laterally, but to pitch-pole by running her bow under. The *Ann McKim* of Baltimore, built in 1832, and generally accepted as the first clipper ship, was, in Mr. Cutler's opinion, in no way different from sundry other small Chesapeake-built ships of the time which were simply enlarged Baltimore clippers with full rig. Griffeths's *Rainbow* of New York (1845), the first real clipper ship of the type that became famous the world over, differed radically in model from the *Ann McKim*, and was really a fresh departure. She and her successors, such as Donald McKay's matchless fleet of flyers, solved the problem that had baffled shipbuilders since the dawn of history: to combine great speed with great cargo capacity. On the technical development of the clipper model, from the China trader and the Western Ocean packet ship, Mr. Cutler has brought out many new details, and his book makes an original and notable contribution in a series of beautiful photographs of half-models, which should make it clear to anyone with an eye for form just how the clipper ship evolved, and what the difference is between a clipper and a full-bodied ship. There will be no more excuse after this for popular writers to call every square-rigged vessel a clipper than there is to call every horse a thoroughbred.

The question of disputed records, such as the shortest California run and the *Dreadnought's* "9-day passage", is sifted by Mr. Cutler with care and common sense; and where he can not find the materials to reach a definite conclusion, as in the case of the *Flying Scud's* reputed day's run of 449 miles, he leaves the question open. There are ample lists in the appendix of American clipper ships with their measurements and performances, which are useful supplements to Captain Clark's; and the former, being taken mostly from the customs records, are more reliable than Clark's or Howe's. It must be put down to Mr. Cutler's credit that he wrote his book largely from original sources, and showed much ingenuity in running down original ships' logs which were unknown to his predecessors. Nevertheless, the book is disappointing. The author does not know how to make effective use of the material which he has excavated. His style is jerky and incoherent. Instead of allowing the story of these superb vessels to impart its own color and romance, some of his pages fairly drip with sentiment and slush. Captain Arthur H. Clark used a salty English appropriate to the subject, and on every point except the illustrations and statistics, his *Clipper Ship Era* is still to be preferred to Mr. Cutler's more pretentious and expensive work.

Harvard University. S. E. Morison.

The South as a Conscious Minority, 1789–1861: a Study in Political Thought. By JESSE T. CARPENTER, PH.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science in New York University. (New York: New York University Press. 1930. Pp. x, 315. $4.50.)

Southern Commercial Conventions, 1837–1859. By HERBERT WENDER, PH.D., Instructor in History, Ohio State University. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XLVIII., no. 4.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1930. Pp. 240. $2.00.)

MR. CARPENTER'S book is a doctoral dissertation; it raises anew the question, what should a doctoral dissertation be? For those who think that such a production should be factual, and who are satisfied if it display originality in the mere assembling and organization of facts, not in discovery nor in argument, this book is just what they ought to acclaim. No one has ever massed the material here assembled quite so coherently, nor with quite such unsparing logicality. The young student casting about to find a comprehensive outline of the subject will find this volume an admirable aid. But he needs a warning or two. Mr. Carpenter falls into the error that so many American historians have made, and deals with his subject in the legalistic temper, as if ideas, reactions, social feeling, were all constant quantities in the political equation. He is not sufficiently conscious of their variability because he is not adequately concerned with their relations to their encompassing atmosphere. Nor is he sufficiently jealous of the exact meaning, in a large sense, of political terms. He does not differentiate with enough sharpness between the sense of geographical predestination and the sense of social—not to say political—unity. An unsparing application of his own logic would lead him to conclude that Virginia in 1830 contained two nations because, in his own words, "a minority East . . . fought against a majority West". This is not saying that his conclusions in the main are not correct, but merely insisting that his view of a highly complicated processional, mental and economic, is stated too much in the large with too little regard for its subtleties, its recessions, its inconsistencies—in a word, its humanism. A few factual slips may be passed over, except, perhaps the amazing misapprehension of R. B. Rhett and the sweeping disregard of the secession movement of 1851. None of the unsolved problems that cry aloud for analysis and interpretation are here illuminated, not even the final, though least important, puzzle—why the Confederate constitution did not safeguard the right of secession?

Mr. Wender's book is also, probably, a doctoral dissertation. It is severely factual. However, it has this justification, that it deals with a train of events which, taken as a whole, has never had exclusive treatment in a way that was adequate. Though the material is not obscure, it is easy of access only in the great libraries. To many students out of touch with those libraries this summary of the twenty-year attempt to

make the South a self-sufficing economic entity will be welcome. These two dissertations form a suggestive contrast. Mr. Carpenter conceives his task almost altogether in the terms of political theory, with economics as scarcely more than a hovering shadow. Mr. Wender works entirely on the other side of the horizon; he sees scarcely anything but economic propaganda, and only in a concluding word records the intrusion of politics. Each, of course, expresses but a half truth. Mr. Wender comes near doing more than that but shies off and leaves his real opportunity unexploited. Plainly, he perceives the question, so generally ignored—were there two planter groups, an old and a new, and did the former oppose the attempt of the latter to commercialize the South? When we talk of the planter interest, do we lump together a pair of social-economic groups that were always more or less antagonistic? Curiously enough, the earliest and the latest evidence that may justify the reversal of a traditional view turns on the same issue, the opening of the slave trade, and might suggest to Mr. Wender a supplement to his careful study.

Scripps College. N. W. Stephenson.

Jefferson Davis, Political Soldier. By Elisabeth Cutting. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1930. Pp. x, 361. $5.00.)

It is now seventy years since the campaign which led to the election of Abraham Lincoln and the secession of the eleven Southern states, since the dawn of that day called the Confederacy. There have been many, many documents, authoritative histories, and scores of biographies, mainly from the Northern and nationalist point of view; but latterly there has been a steady flow of documentary and secondary material with a Southern, if not an anti-industrial, bias—works which emphasize the validity of the early state rights and individualist ideal so dear to the fathers. Men are not so certain now as in 1865 that the South was wrong.

In most of this literature Jefferson Davis receives more space and more kindly attention, always the foil to Abraham Lincoln, who looms larger in history than any other American, although his philosophy is hardly more acceptable in the North than in the reconstructed eleven seceding states. Miss Cutting accepts Davis as a great man and a statesman, more "like Woodrow Wilson" than any other President. She treats him as a Southern imperialist prior to 1860, as an able and patriotic senator more disinterested than Stephen A. Douglas in 1854, and as a compromiser in the closing years of the pre-war agitation. In all of which she is correct. Nor has she failed to make use of the newly published sources or neglected to consult closely her predecessors in the field.

Her approach is rather more from the European vantage ground than the American scene, which is not bad in view of the increasing internationalization of American life and interests. That is, she thinks recognition by one of the great powers was in 1861 as important as it had been in 1776; and in this she is not far from the mind of intelligent Southerners in the secession movement. They had before them the precarious

position of Washington and his colleagues from the moment the British failed to satisfy the basic demands of the first Continental Congress. There can be no doubt that both Davis and Lee had Washington in mind throughout the long struggle; but Miss Cutting seems to think the Confederates had no Franklin to save their necks by surpassing finesse, for she allows neither Mason in London nor Slidell in Paris the essential qualities of a good diplomat. Nor does she think Davis himself equal to his office in that respect, although she does not bring out the old story of the "fatal neglect" to seize all cotton in 1861 and hold it as a bait to Europe—the Alexander Stephens idea—after the event.

In stressing the diplomatic problem Miss Cutting overlooks the state of international exchange and the attitude of the great banking houses, so dependent on cotton before 1860, more dependent on wheat and pork in 1865—the unexpected which so often defeats the best laid political and diplomatic plans. Why should not Southerners have expected things to go on as they had gone for thirty years? Why should not Slidell's close friend and fellow Democratic boss, August Belmont of the house of Rothschild, New York and London, continue to lend a friendly hand to the Southerners? That might have turned the scales in Europe. But Belmont abandoned the South, if not the Democratic party; and the Rothschilds of every European capital gave only minor assistance to the Erlanger loan. But Miss Cutting shows that Robert Cecil, later the Earl of Salisbury, wrote the hitherto unidentified articles in the London *Quarterly* in which the aristocratic ideals of the world were shown to be at stake in the war of North *vs.* South; and he was hotly in favor of the South and of English recognition. She also quotes Lord Campbell's tribute to Davis in 1864: "No man of reflection can, in my opinion, glance at the daily life of Mr. Davis without a sentiment which even passes admiration."

While the author is best in her complete fairness both to the Southern cause and to Davis himself, she does not divine the vast social revolution that was going on both in the North and in the South. The aristocratic system for which Lord Robert Cecil labored valiantly was indeed passing in so far as the Confederacy was concerned. What is not sensed is the greater fact that Lincoln was compelled to bargain away democracy at the North to avoid utter disaster. Here was one of the decisive moments in the history of Western civilization: aristocracy fighting one of its last great struggles with democracy, European monarchs and aristocratic circles half aware but aloof—a fact upon which Bismarck in Berlin and Judah P. Benjamin, queen's counsel in London, later commented rather bitterly. But as few people saw the revolutionary change going on in the North at the time, the author of this book may be quite justified in not referring to it.

There is one quality of this book which seems to me to be unfortunate. I refer to the method. In the excellent chapter treating France and the Confederacy, the author has Davis appear in Paris, several years after the

war, and snub the Emperor Napoleon. Then in the next chapter, called the End of an Idea and not badly done, she describes the scene in St. Paul's Church, Richmond, in which Davis gives evidence that all is lost and hastens to his office to take steps to evacuate the capital. That is, the chronology is too much neglected in order to present complete and rounded pictures. One has the feeling produced by the movie screen. Perhaps it is the "new biography" which influences us all; but it weakens somewhat the appeal of the narrative as a whole.

The University of Chicago. WILLIAM E. DODD.

War, Politics, and Reconstruction: Stormy Days in Louisiana. By HENRY CLAY WARMOTH. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xiii, 285. $3.50.)

THE Warmoth story here set forth is the record of governmental abuse in Louisiana in Reconstruction days. The book is autobiographical and is largely self-vindication, based on the author's notes, diary, and correspondence, together with a study of newspaper files, public documents, and sundry works on Reconstruction. Henry Clay Warmoth denied that he was a "carpetbagger". Drawing from the South in his ancestral antecedents, he was born in Illinois, practiced law in Missouri, served as lieutenant colonel of Missouri volunteers, was with Sherman at Vicksburg, and occupied the governor's chair of Louisiana for four stormy years, 1868–1872. He remained in the state as a sugar planter and served under Harrison as collector of customs at New Orleans. The book is almost entirely concerned with the carpetbag period. Appointed as judge in one of the war-time courts of Louisiana, Warmoth became prominent among the ex-Union soldiers in New Orleans, where, as he vividly tells, he was insulted and denied social recognition. As a Reconstruction radical, he was naturally in conflict with the Democrats; and he served as head of the Louisiana G. A. R. (which, as he reveals, functioned as an adjunct of the Republican party). He broke, however, with the extreme radicals, set himself against the Africanization of the state, became a "white" Republican and a Liberal Republican of 1872, and in general resisted the Grant régime.

The details of Warmoth's turbulent governorship illustrate the violence and abuse which resulted from Northern attempts to control Southern politics. He encountered the furious opposition of the Grant-Kellogg-Casey faction, also called the "Customs-house faction" (from customs collector J. F. Casey, brother-in-law of President Grant); and as a result of this quarrel he was read out of the Republican party. He bitterly records (p. 233) that the machinations of this group cost Louisiana "millions of dollars, hundreds of human lives, and five years of anarchy". There is a full treatment of the state election of 1872 as a result of which the defeated Republican candidate, W. P. Kellogg, was set up as governor. In these high-handed measures, which were stoutly resisted by Warmoth, who thus incurred an impeachment threat, the ultra radicals had the as-

sistance of a pliant Federal judge and the support of the Grant administration, which maintained "Kellogg and his usurpation" in power by the use of Federal troops.

The author's constant preoccupation with his own vindication is, perhaps, the main defect of the book. The whole story as to Warmoth's own part in post-war Louisiana politics is not told; and the student of this subject will do well to peruse the excellent monograph by Miss Lonn as a check upon Warmoth. Annotations are lacking; but various documents are reproduced in text and appendix.

The University of Illinois. J. G. RANDALL.

The Industrial Revolution in the South. By BROADUS MITCHELL, Associate Professor of Political Economy in Johns Hopkins University, and GEORGE SINCLAIR MITCHELL, Instructor in Economics in Columbia University. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1930. Pp. xiv, 298. $2.75.)

THIS volume by two Southern-born economists contains twenty-seven papers and addresses, all except one of which have been printed in various periodicals since 1919. The papers, which were prepared for widely different audiences, vary greatly in merit, and have been reprinted substantially as written. Regardless of chronology they have been grouped under five general topics: The Problem, Recent Labor Unrest, Child Labor, Welfare Work, and The Old South and the New. Under the circumstances, it is needless to say, one who expects a consistent, balanced account of Southern industrial development will be disappointed.

In the first place discussion is confined almost entirely to textile development, though that industry includes only about one-third of Southern industrial workers. Tobacco, furniture, iron, and other industries are ignored; and unless the reader is familiar with the textile situation, he is likely to be confused by the many repetitions, inconsistencies, and even contradictions. The repetitions and contradictions are real, but the apparent inconsistencies arise largely from the fact that some of the sections written years ago follow sections written later which express, perhaps, a revised judgment. Some which were written for popular audiences contain sweeping generalizations of doubtful validity.

A serious criticism of the book as social history is the misleading and inaccurate use of the term "Poor White". In the view of the authors all poor whites are Poor Whites, and from them the factory operatives are drawn. Neither of these statements is true. As Phillips well says after enumerating several plain people who reached high positions in the old South, "These and their fellow millions can not be lumped as 'poor whites' and dismissed with a phrase." In the Piedmont a large proportion of the mill people is of sturdy yeoman stock, and the writer personally knows many mill operatives whose relatives hold respectable and even important positions in the county, the state, or even in the nation.

In spite of its errors and deficiencies, the book has distinct merits. The analyses of conditions are often keen and the insight displayed is sometimes penetrating, though even here the authors are disposed to rationalize the conduct of men who never had a plan, and lived only from week to week, meeting each situation as it arose. It is to be regretted that the book was printed in its present form. With elimination, careful revision, and some rewriting, the authors would have offered a work of permanent value, instead of the present volume, which does not do justice either to the situation or to themselves.

College of the City of New York. HOLLAND THOMPSON.

Levi Parsons Morton, Banker, Diplomat, and Statesman. By ROBERT MCELROY, M.A., PH.D., LL.D., F.R.HIST.S., Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor in Oxford University, Fellow of Queen's College, sometime Edwards Professor of American History in Princeton University. With an Introduction by the Reverend HOWARD CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1930. Pp. xiv, 340. $5.00.)

THIS is the biography of a very wealthy man who had something to do with politics, something to do with diplomacy, and a great deal to do with business. In politics Mr. Levi Parsons Morton garnered more disappointments than successes. In diplomacy he was happy and measurably successful. In business he was a notable success.

Mr. Morton's ancestors more than came over in the *Mayflower*. His first American maternal ancestor, Stephen Hopkins, was shipwrecked upon one of the Bermudas while on his way to Virginia in 1609. This proved to be a fortunate occurrence since it permitted him to return to England and start right. Eleven years later he came over in the *Mayflower*. The granddaughter of Stephen Hopkins married John Morton of Middleboro, grandson of the first American Morton, George Morton of Plymouth. It remained only to unite this family with the Parsons family to produce the perfect Puritan. Thus Levi Parsons Morton, born May 16, 1824, assumed the "eternal accountability" that was inseparable from a person who could muster "two Mayflower passengers and at least eighty other ancestors who arrived in America before 1650".

This is an excellent foundation for a story of a correct and high-minded gentleman but it does not promise the light and warmth of a biography of a Stephen A. Douglas or a Disraeli. There is in the life of Mr. Morton a lack of striking incident, a notable lack of humor and of fancy; and there is, on the other hand, a coldness and austerity that command respect and interest but not enthusiasm on the part of the reader. Mention is made of his "extraordinary reticence" and his "impenetrable reserve". Professor McElroy has not lacked documentary material but

he has not been able to go much beyond the written record. Mr. Morton remains aloof.

Having in mind this unavoidable limitation it must be conceded that Professor McElroy has done his work well. He has given us a good picture of a vanishing type. Mr. Morton is frock-coated, reserved, distinguished in bearing, scrupulously honest. Not the least interesting contribution of this biography is the excellent picture, more or less unconsciously drawn, of a Republican gentleman of the old school. Mr. Morton shared with David Harum the conviction that all the intelligence and virtue of the country were monopolized by the Republican party. To him Republican success meant an era of prosperity. Democratic victory meant ruin. He could subscribe without reservation to the doctrine that "We legislate for the people of the United States, not for the whole world". The next generation of students in politics will read with amused interest the story of the crass provincialism that prevailed in the Age of Innocence.

From 1880, Mr. Morton may justly be described as a national figure in politics. He would not consent to be a candidate for the Vice Presidency in 1880. Chester A. Arthur accepted the nomination and soon succeeded President Garfield. Mr. Morton hoped to become Secretary of the Treasury, but President Garfield could not agree to that. Denied the Treasury, Mr. Morton sought a senatorship from New York. Mr. Platt preferred himself. Mr. Morton declined the honor of the Navy Department and accepted the post of minister to France. There, as an ardent protectionist, he experienced much difficulty and no success in trying to induce France to permit the importation of American pork and in explaining to the French the American tariff on art. Subsequent chapters in the story deal with his Vice Presidency in the Harrison administration, the governorship of New York, his part in the memorable campaign of 1896, and the financial successes of later years. His death, on his ninety-sixth birthday, in 1920, marked the close of a career that began in the Presidency of James Monroe.

Cornell University. JULIAN P. BRETZ.

Letters of Henry Adams, 1858–1891. Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. Pp. vi, 552. $5.00.)

NEARLY a century has elapsed since Henry Adams was born in 1838, and a half century since he published his *Life of Gallatin.* His volumes on the administrations of Jefferson and Madison appeared forty years ago and it is nearly as far back as that when he served as president of the American Historical Association. The interest of the professional historian in him is obviously great. During his seven years as professor of history at Harvard he left his impress on the teaching of that subject in all American education. His historical writings placed him securely among the leaders of his craft. But all that would not account for the

fact that to-day his fame is greater than ever and his influence growing instead of decreasing on the younger generation. One reason for this is the richness and range of his personality. Adams was never a specialist or a "standard brand". No historian can find fault with the scholarship of his *Gallatin* and *History of the United States*, which have not been, nor are likely to be, superseded. His *Democracy* was a brilliant and not merely a competent novel. Few have caught the spirit of an age as he did in *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*. No other American autobiography contains the wide range of interest to be found in his *Education of Henry Adams*. His almost unknown *Memoirs of the Last Queen of Tahiti* is held by such an authority as Malinowski to be an anthropological document of importance. Leaving the safe shore of documentation he did not fear to risk thought-provoking if unsuccessful speculations on the nature of the historic process. In a word, Adams's mind was not segmented by the partial eclipse of specialization. It functioned fully and freely amid a wide range of experience in which diplomacy, society, and travel took their normal place beside the study of books and manuscripts. His historical work is a sufficient monument to the scholar but the influence he exerts to-day is due not to them but to the free play of a brilliant and unbound mind among living problems.

Comment in the *Review* on any work of his would naturally be from the standpoint of the technical historian. But I am inclined to believe that even from his, at this stage, the most valuable point to consider in Adams is just that free play of mind and insistence on wide and unspecialized experience, as an element in his technical writing. It is impossible to get rich work except from a rich mind. So far the mind of Adams has been best opened to us in the *Education*, but in two respects that document was imperfect. It was written at nearly seventy years of age, and it left a gap of twenty years from 1885. Both these imperfections are remedied by the *Letters* of which the first volume has now been published. They give us the development of his mind not from memory but from day by day documentation, in intimate accounts, with considerable fullness, and they are particularly ample in just the period which Adams himself left blank. In the *Education* Adams appears with something of the gray pallor of age. In the *Letters* the red blood of youth and manhood again courses in the veins, and the man whom we see through the double lenses of *Education* and *Letters* becomes a more real person with the glow of life. The latter have now become as essential as the former for the study of one of the most interesting minds America has produced.

From the more technical standpoint of the historian we may note that the *Letters* afford interesting side lights on the history, personalities, and floating opinions of two periods in particular, Washington in 1860–1861, and London during the Civil War, the latter supplementing by fifty-five pages *The Cycle of Adams Letters* published in 1920. The Washington letters give a vivid picture, with many stray bits of minor information,

of what C. F. Adams, Sumner, and others were thinking, hoping, and fearing in the first feverish months of Lincoln's administration.

Of Adams's own work in history, there is little to be found in the letters. Those who search for the technicalities of method of other historians will be disappointed. Adams scarcely mentions either the *Gallatin* or the *History*. He is singularly free of any talk of "shop". There are a dozen references or so to his work as teacher but mostly general and damning comments on the stupidity of university education and administration. His interest in the theory of history began to crystallize just about the period when this first volume of letters ends and does not emerge in it. Indeed, in the adequate index there is but one reference to either "history" or "historians", one that leads to the statement made to Henry Cabot Lodge in 1872 that he could look for as much recognition and as much financial return by writing history as by going into business, proving the point by citing the profits of Prescott, Motley, Bancroft, and Parkman. But if the historian finds nothing of historical technique he will find what is far more important, in the combined *Education-Letters*, an example of what the mind of an historian might become.

New York. JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS.

Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, 1869–1909. By HENRY JAMES. Two volumes. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. Pp. xvi, 382; vi, 393. $10.00.)

THERE have been no discordant notes in the chorus of praise with which this biography has been received. Indeed it would be hard even to invent an excuse for them. It is not often that a biographer and his subject seem so harmoniously united each to each as in this instance. "My fundamental idea", wrote Eliot in a letter quoted in the second volume of Mr. James's work (p. 302), "is probably that my biographer can find in my letters and reports as much evidence about my disposition and personality as readers of my Life and Letters will need or be good for. The kind of biography that I should prefer is a record drawn from my reports and other official documents of the number and quality of the bricks that I built into the walls of Harvard University. Serviceable institutions last; as to persons, 'Time, like an ever rolling stream, Bears *all* its sons away'." Mr. James has manifestly taken Eliot's "fundamental idea" as the charter for his task, but, like a man of wisdom and discretion, he has contributed a personal interpretation to the prescribed material which, one makes bold to believe, would have been after President Eliot's own heart. He has made no attempt to present his subject, for all its greatness, as an example of perfection. Limitations in one direction and another are frankly acknowledged or subtly suggested, with the sort of half-humorous apprehension of which Eliot himself is shown to have been amply capable. The style of the book in its entirety is marked with the same dignity and clarity that characterized

the thought and utterance of its subject. So close a study as Mr. James must have made of the deliverances of one whose own style was a model of expression could hardly fail to leave its traces upon a biographer's manner of thinking and writing. Yet without a native sensitiveness to the finer shades of the writer's art, and without some valid claim to the perceptions, both inborn and cultivated, which are essential to a biographer, the author could hardly have produced a book so exquisitely and memorably adapted to its purpose.

Persons of those academic interests which prevail among the readers of this review will naturally look in Mr. James's pages for light upon the relation between Eliot's work at Harvard to the general progress of higher education in America. They will not look in vain. The beginnings of any such work are of special significance. In the present case it is interesting to learn that Eliot was not so completely the pioneer advocate of liberalization in college studies at Harvard as he has commonly been counted. Gropings toward a system of electives had been made before his day, and three years before his inauguration as president, Professor J. H. Hedge had given expression to revolutionary ideas of education "to which", as Mr. James remarks (I. 222)—"and almost every word of which—the Eliot of later years could have said Amen". But the realization of every vision needs a man to bring it to pass—and Eliot, by reason of both spiritual and intellectual gifts, of character and of capacity, was precisely that man, at precisely the right time. Patient, forbearing, fearless, he pressed steadily for the things he believed in, and lived to see them, in nearly every particular, prevail. If beginnings are significant, so are endings, and in no portion of these two volumes is Mr. James's mastery of the matters with which he had to deal more evident than in his treatment of the growth of Harvard as it is to-day out of the Harvard which President Eliot bequeathed to his successor.

"Inside the non-conducting integuments that encased him, he felt the same affections and longings that other men expose." In these words (I. 192), of a felicity which Eliot could not have surpassed, may be found a suggestion of many quiet revelations in the course of these volumes—revelations of a human being hardly to be deduced in all its gentler attributes from something marmoreal in its outer aspects. To have produced so faithful and living a portrait of a central figure in American civilization through an uncommonly long span of years, to have breathed into this figure the breath of life, so that his personality may long outlive his bodily presence, is a great achievement. This is what Mr. James has wrought, for he has written a great biography of a great man—and that with an economy the more remarkable for the colossal mass of material out of which he has framed a book by no means so formidable in its bulk as it has been made to look.

The Library of Congress. M. A. DeWolfe Howe.

Our Times: the United States, 1900–1925. By MARK SULLIVAN. Volume III., *Pre-War America.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930. Pp. xvii, 586. $5.00.)

THE appearance of Mr. Mark Sullivan's third volume of *Our Times* is an event for which many of his friends have been waiting with high expectation. In general, the volume follows the plan now well known through the publication of volume I. in 1926 and volume II. in 1927. It is fair to say, however, that the style in this volume seems to be somewhat smoother than was the case with the earlier ones. The story is more clearly told, or perhaps it is more effectively told. Possibly the only exception that one might make to this statement is to be found in a few words which Mr. Sullivan uses, such as "nepotic", "orchidaic" (p. 39), "compulsory lavation" (p. 88), "Circumlocutius" (p. 192), and "eupeptic" (p. 474). On the other hand, some of Mr. Sullivan's expressions are so happy that we are ready to forgive him all of these words, except possibly "eupeptic". Such a happy expression is in relation to the famous case of the cow of Governor Scofield of Wisconsin. In speaking of the use of express franks for Governor Scofield's cow, Mr. Sullivan remarks, "It was not against the law and most decidedly it was not contrary to the accepted usage of politicians—but it was against, so to speak, the average man's *equilibrium of sedateness* . . . " (pp. 218–219; the italics are mine). I am not sure just what "equilibrium of sedateness" is, but whatever it is, it is the precise language to apply to the situation mentioned.

Mr. Sullivan continues the vast advantage of having his copy read by numerous and varied individuals who took part in the events which he is describing. This constitutes, as it seems to me, one of the great privileges which Mr. Sullivan possesses as a writer of contemporary American history. In particular this advantage is apparent in connection with the railroad legislation of 1906, where the proofs of the chapter were read by several railroad presidents, by the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, several ex-members of Congress, corporation lawyers, and former members of the Cabinet. This particular phase of Mr. Sullivan's work I have noted in reviews of volumes I. and II., but it seems to me to be of such importance as to demand further emphasis at this point.

As before, Mr. Sullivan's volume on the whole is a series of pictures rather than an integrated account of the history of the time. These pictures have, in general, little relation to one another. Thus chapters I. and II. are sketches of William H. Taft and Theodore Roosevelt, with some account of the relationship of the two. They are entertaining and informing, and in particular the sketch of Taft is positively charming. They do not, however, have any close relationship to the chapters immediately following. Chapters III. and IV. present an interesting and informing account of the insurance scandals. Chapters V., VI., and VIII. present varied characteristics of Theodore Roosevelt. Chapter

VII. throws some light on the fight for more severe railroad rate regulation. The emphasis in this chapter is on the controversy between Roosevelt and his Congress, and particularly between Roosevelt and Tillman, but does not carry the story through so as to give a complete understanding of the history of the Hepburn Act. Chapter IX. contains much material not hitherto generally known on the discovery and partial elimination of the hookworm. Chapter X. contains an account of the best known popular songs of the period from about 1900 to the opening of the World War.

Within the sphere of interest which Mr. Sullivan has marked out for himself, his work is carefully done and entertainingly set forth. This reviewer, however, hopes that it will not be necessary in volume IV. to repeat quite so many times the usual observations in regard to changes of style in women's dress. It is disappointing, also, not to find more on the political disputes which made the years from 1910 to 1912 so memorable. Mr. Sullivan's observations on these matters would be entertaining. The reader would be glad to have more of Roosevelt's philosophy and purposes, more of his modes of action, of his dispute with Taft, more about the conventions of 1912, of the cost of living, and of the shift from the rural districts into the city. Nevertheless, this volume is very much worth while and will be welcomed by a large number of readers.

Dartmouth College. CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

Nelson W. Aldrich, a Leader in American Politics. By NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON, Professor of History and Biography, Scripps College and Claremont Colleges. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930. Pp. xii, 496. $5.00.)

THE political career of Nelson Wilmarth Aldrich suggests in bare outline that of many a political leader in the period between the close of the Civil War and the opening of the new century. There was as well the service in the Union army, although for a brief period, and the career in business. Office holding in Rhode Island preceded a term and part of a second in the national House of Representatives. Then followed election to the Senate, where he remained for thirty years, throughout the period a member of the Finance Committee and for twelve years its chairman.

In preface and extensive notes, Professor Stephenson indicates the innumerable persons who have contributed of their knowledge of this period. He estimates that "near a half million pieces of manuscript" were examined by Dr. Jeannette Paddock Nichols, who spent five years as research secretary in the preparation of the material. Twenty-three manuscript collections are cited, including those of Allison, Foraker, McKinley, O. H. Platt, Roosevelt, Spooner, John Sherman, and Taft, a great portion of which are in private hands. Much material has been

gathered from those not in political office. The Aldrich family "opened all manuscripts without reserve".

Mr. Stephenson writes of that critical period, from 1880 to 1910, of which we have a wealth of material and a dearth of understanding. He has added greatly to our knowledge, and by the definiteness of his approach and the very vigor of his interpretation he has broadened our view of the conflicting issues of these years. It is very clear what he thinks of the figures in the drama, but it is not clear that his view of the meaning of the drama is always to be accepted. The leaders are supermen, and the masses are known for the most part because of the misbehavior of the chorus and noise in the wings. There is often a relapse into the hero tale and the fatalism characteristic of an age of writers who had not Mr. Stephenson's realism.

So familiar was the figure of Aldrich drawn for us in the contemporary comment of his day, and so accustomed have we become to the fact that his name rarely appears in histories of the period, that it may come as a shock to some to find him linked with Roosevelt as one of the two great men of their period, not once but several times, and to find his generalship in the intricate practice of the Senate recorded as evidence of outstanding statesmanship. The comparison with the views of Roosevelt is given in a startling summary (pp. 271–273).

Indication of the point of view of the author is found in his treatment of Bryan "leading the bacchic chant"; of *The World* "with its army of professional informers"; of the senators in the middle 'eighties when "probably there was not one of them that did not owe his seat to some sort of roundabout compromise with the Purchasables"; of the Senate at the end of the first decade of the new century when it "was being invaded by the tone of the street"; and of La Follette, "eaten up by his belief that the West was being wronged". Aldrich is presented as seeing, as early as 1890, "the break-down of the popular conception of democracy".

To the managing editor of the Providence *Journal*, which Mr. Aldrich controlled, he wrote in 1904 that the editor was "'to be independent in politics and news but . . . to oppose by all proper means the socialistic and anarchical tendencies of the labor unions and similar organizations'"; to Senator Foraker he wrote in 1908, "The tendency in the West to elect a class of men to the Senate who mean nothing but mischief and destruction, if their ideas are adopted, should awaken in every patriotic mind a fear of the consequences." Professor Stephenson has presented important new material on the modification of a preliminary draft of Roosevelt's message of 1904 as far as it related to the tariff; assertion is made that Aldrich inspired a passage on "trusts" in the Roosevelt message of 1901; and minute attention given to the rule of the four leaders, Aldrich, Allison, O. H. Platt, and Spooner, of whom it is said in 1897, "They compose a genuine cabal, perhaps the only one in the history of the Senate". In considering the work of Aldrich in tariff making in 1897,

we read, "The secretary of the National Wool Manufacturers' Association, S. N. D. North, was one of his expert advisers", and "North had been brought to Washington by Aldrich as expert secretary to the Finance Committee", and following criticism of this action, "It was quite in line with his established practice". But there are few such revelations.

This reviewer is inclined to question the explanation of the spirit and tactics of Aldrich in his fight with the Insurgents in the tariff session of 1909. The asserted lack of bitterness on the part of Aldrich does not seem to be borne out by the facts. The assertion that he was willing to recognize the "West" and did appoint McCumber, Flint, and others ignores the real issue. Mr. Stephenson finds that the study of this session is "unendurable by any but the stoutest hearted historical specialist, and that it is fruitless". He then proceeds to show a very detailed knowledge of the session and the notes are copious.

Important, and very significant, is the confirmation of a conference at Oyster Bay on September 16, 1902, at which "the Conservative party was born". In showing that Taft was following Roosevelt's example in continuing to confer with Aldrich, and less frequently with Cannon, the author enhances the reputation of Taft as a politician and somewhat deflates Roosevelt's reputation as a political crusader. To find it confirmed that Roosevelt gave in, but let it appear that he did not give in, to Aldrich and Cannon on the matter of the tariff, and to learn that Taft assured Aldrich that he would publicly attack him, if in Aldrich's opinion this would bring a desired political result, sheds new light on the charges of La Follette and other insurgents and they take on a significance and a weight not accorded them at the time.

For thirty years the Senator from Rhode Island manipulated men in the Senate; he stood across the path of Roosevelt and Taft—and La Follette and Dolliver. This was great power. He belonged "to the inner circle of the Republican party". Yet he looked upon political platforms as bunk and confessed in the Senate that he had not read the party platform of 1900. Now and then one detects in Senator Aldrich a tendency to irony. Mr. Stephenson occasionally shares in this mood as he writes of American politics, but it is not in irony, one may believe, that he writes of Aldrich, "Like all the great men of action, he was fundamentally an artist".

Stanford University. EDGAR E. ROBINSON.

Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1916. Supplement, *The World War.* [Publications of the Department of State.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1929. Pp. cclxxxii, 1000. $2.00.)

THE general arrangement of the present volume follows that of the two preceding Supplements, an arrangement which by now has been carefully tested and generally approved. Front matter amounting to 280 pages consists of a brief table of contents and a list of the principal

persons mentioned in the correspondence, followed by a double list of the papers. The first list is arranged by topics, in chronological sequence, incoming papers placed under the date of receipt. The second list is by countries, again arranged chronologically, incoming papers in this list placed under date of issue. The lists give the names of those sending and receiving each paper, with a brief summary of its contents. At the conclusion of the volume there is a short index. The student is thus enabled easily to trace references to the particular topic which he is investigating.

The papers themselves, as in the case of the earlier Supplements, are divided into four general sections: the continuation and further spread of the war and efforts toward peace; neutral rights; neutral duties; other problems and responsibilities. The first section is longer than in the preceding volumes but, even so, runs only to 130 pages. It covers developments in Southeastern Europe, especially in Greece and Roumania, the Spanish proposal for good offices, and in some detail the background of the Central Powers' peace note of December 12, 1916. The second section forms the bulk of the volume, amounting to 557 pages. In the main it deals with the submarine controversy with Germany and the dispute with the Allies over restrictions on neutral trade. The third section, running to eighty-six pages, deals especially with the treatment of belligerent warships and belligerent merchant ships in American ports, the hovering of belligerent warships; the problems of belligerent merchant submarines in neutral ports, involving the case of the *Deutschland*, and the operations of war submarines beyond territorial waters, involving the case of the *U-53*.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of this volume for the study of the background of the United States' entrance into the World War. Even a hasty survey reveals the intense difficulty of America's position as a neutral caught between the two belligerent camps. During the earlier part of the year, relations with Germany were constantly strained almost to the breaking point, as a result of the still unsettled *Lusitania* negotiations, the sinking of the *Persia*, and in April the sinking of the *Sussex*. A brief interchange between Lansing and Gerard immediately after the sinking of the *Sussex* indicates the daily expectation of a break on the part of the State Department. On April 24, Gerard, having handed over Wilson's note, reported almost casually that Von Jagow said "he thought it meant a break". Within three hours Lansing telegraphed Gerard to "cable at once the exact words, as nearly as you can remember, used by von Jagow". The crisis passed and peace for the moment was saved by Germany's concessions; but during the rest of the spring and the summer the State Department was constantly harassed by German demands that action should be taken by the United States against the Allied blockade. With the autumn new submarine attacks began. The wealth of fresh information contained in the telegrams sent from Berlin is important historically in that it explains the increasing dread of those

close to Wilson that the United States would be forced into the war. The reports of Ambassador Gerard and Mr. Grew from Berlin were detailed and objective, far superior as informative documents to anything sent by Ambassador Page from London. The general résumé of the German political situation drafted by Mr. Grew on October 16, which tallies perfectly with other recently published sources, gave to Washington a clear and accurate picture. From this résumé, as in other cables and in the summary of the opinions of neutral diplomats, President Wilson received definite warning that German submarine pledges would probably not be observed for long. Hence the pleas for Wilson's mediation that came from those Germans anxious to inaugurate a peace conference before the advocates of the *rücksichtslos* policy obtained control; hence the activity of Von Bernstorff in snatching at any hope of negotiations; hence the December suggestion of the Germans, now tired of waiting for Wilson, that a peace conference be called; hence the entirely independent but equally unsuccessful request of the President to the belligerents to state their terms.

The history of American relations with the Allies during the course of 1916 can now also for the first time receive adequate treatment. There is nothing in these papers that will alter materially the main lines of the story as we knew it; but the intensity of the difficulties on both sides appears clearly from the cumulative irritations that arose. Inevitably the student will be struck by the inadequacy, or the complete lack, of information on various vital diplomatic problems possessed by our representatives abroad. Thus Minister Vopicka, in Bucharest, prides himself on foretelling Roumania's entrance into the war a month in advance; but he either remained entirely ignorant of the terms of the Treaty of Bucharest or else did not think it worth while passing on his information to Washington. Some of the American diplomats in Europe must have known something of the projected partition of the Turkish Empire; but in none of the dispatches, so far as the reviewer can discover, is the Sykes-Picot Agreement mentioned.

Yale University. CHARLES SEYMOUR.

The Great Crusade and After, 1914–1928. By PRESTON WILLIAM SLOSSON, Associate Professor of History, University of Michigan. With an Editorial Foreword by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER and DIXON RYAN FOX. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xviii, 486. $5.00.)

THIS volume, the twelfth of A History of American Life, although appearing in a trade edition under a slightly altered title, comes much nearer accomplishing, in the opinion of the reviewer, the purpose of the series than either of its predecessors, and this statement is not intended to disparage or in any way minimize the excellencies of those notable books. Mr. Slosson has, however, done one thing which some of his

colaborers, probably intentionally, did not do in any conspicuous way: he has recognized that political doings form just as much a part of "social" history as do economic, literary, artistic, or any other of the varied activities of man in his association with his fellows. He has not written a political history—far from it. Nevertheless, he has integrated political with other factors in such a manner as to show their interrelations; he has brought out cause and effect, whether the cause be political and the effect economic or *vice versa*.

The author, like the other men who have contributed to the series, had to make a conscious choice between an essentially topical and a chronological method. He has chosen to treat his period primarily by topics, leaving the reader to adjust the chronology as best he can, although, to a considerable extent, there is a differentiation between the war years and those which followed. It is probable that such a treatment, in view of the brevity of the period and the nearness of the writer to its events, is as satisfactory as can be expected, especially if, as may be presumed, this work will be read later when a better perspective may be had; fifteen years or so will be telescoped into a passing moment in the life of mankind.

To the reader in the year of grace 1930, who can not have the long view, the work brings out admirably those shifts and changes which have made American society so different from what it was in 1914. The impact of the World War, the mechanization of economic life with its consequent modification of the whole social structure, the "age of jazz", are set down with a detachment and a sprightly style which satisfy alike the historian's critical taste and the layman's desire for a swiftly moving story. Sparing of generalizations, the story is built on facts gleaned from a thousand varied sources, and yet the detail rarely obtrudes to mar the whole picture, although the chapter written by E. A. Slosson on Science, Mistress and Handmaid, seems somewhat like a catalogue of scientific discovery and application, and lacks the easy, flowing tempo of the rest of the book.

In the multiplicity of detailed facts on which the narrative is built there are few statements which can be questioned or in which the author has not fortified himself by reference to authority. One might query the assertion that the combine is a product of the last ten years (p. 195), and be skeptical about the universal success of fur farms (p. 214), or wonder just when the *Saturday Evening Post* led a "radical crusade" (p. 359), but it would be splitting hairs to lay emphasis on a few such ambiguous assertions. The work sets an example in the writing of social history.

The University of Minnesota. LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE.

Survey of American Foreign Relations. Prepared under the Direction of CHARLES P. HOWLAND, Director of Research of the Council on Foreign Relations, Research Associate in Government at Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. xvii, 541. $5.00.)

THIS volume more than maintains the high standards of conception and execution which were exhibited in its predecessors for 1928 and 1929. Following their plans, it does not actually survey the foreign relations of a single year. It presents in the first place a full study of one great field of relationships. That chosen for this volume is the Pacific, excluding the Spanish American littoral. The treatment includes an historical survey of two hundred pages, fifty pages on the economic situation, and about a hundred pages of regional surveys and on migrations. A second section of sixty pages discusses the year's happenings with regard to World Order and Coördination. A third section of a hundred pages deals with Post War Financial Relations, and this, like section II., has to do chiefly with the events of the year and their backgrounds. Particularly valuable here is the discussion of the action of all nations involved in the World War on the subject of Alien Enemy Property.

The introduction specifies six contributors of portions of the work: G. H. Blakeslee, J. S. Burgess, Grover Clark, Ernst Correll, J. S. McKenzie, and H. F. McNair. The remainder of the volume was contributed by the director, C. P. Howland, and the staff, whose names are very properly given. It was written in consultation, also, with various well informed persons whose names also are cited.

The space assigned to this notice precludes a detailed review which would critically evaluate each portion of the work. It may be said in general that the high scholarly standard to be expected from the names mentioned and from the character of the preceding volumes is everywhere exhibited. All articles are well footnoted; the tone is that of scholarship and not partisanship. Yet opinions are freely expressed when called for. In dealing with the complicated questions where statistics are involved, an unusual degree of cleverness is exhibited in making the facts clear and understandable. It is not popular in the bad sense, but it is readable and comprehensible, and it is not a current treatise to be discarded in a year or two, but will serve as a work of reference and starting point for study.

Among the interesting points is the very careful study of the causes of the economic rise of Japan and the relative economic backwardness of China, great stress being given to the importance of the political systems and inheritances of the two nations. The whole treatment of the Pacific reflects the recent tendency to rate the economic possibilities of that region less highly than was done a few years ago. The success of the Dutch in their possessions is emphasized and there is a tendency, held closely within limits, to maintain the necessity of such political control

as will allow successful development of economic resources, and to neglect somewhat cultural values. The discussion of the Kellogg Pact very clearly places it as a point of departure rather than a finality, outlines the different possible policies, and sees a tendency toward making it a base for action. In this light the question of the Chinese Eastern Railroad is treated as the first test.

The University of Wisconsin. CARL RUSSELL FISH.

SHORTER NOTICES

The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization: Petra, Edom and the Edomites. By George Livingston Robinson. With an Introduction by Dr. W. F. Albright, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, formerly Director of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. xxiii, 495, $7.50.) The title of Professor Robinson's book is especially appropriate. The ruins of ancient Petra, architecturally beautiful, containing buildings and tombs carved out of the native rock of the crater of an extinct volcano, surrounded on all sides by precipitous hills and almost impassable fields of rock, entered through a narrow and winding natural opening, has long been one of the most fascinating of all the ruins of the East. Professor Robinson has been for thirty years a student of this region, has made a number of trips, not only to Petra, but through the surrounding country, and has added not a little to our knowledge of the ruins by discovering a number of structures which previous explorers had not noticed. In his book he presents the results of three decades of extensive discovery. The work is illustrated by more than sixty photographs, some of which are colored. The text describes the ruins in detail, and the author has included in the book a history of Edom and the Edomites. As a source of information concerning the ruins of Petra, Professor Robinson's book will take its place beside Dalman's *Petra* and Brunnow and Domaszewsky, *Die Provincia Arabia.*

Professor Robinson's work differs somewhat from the two just mentioned in that he is much interested in connecting the history of Edom, and therefore its archæology, with the Bible. His chief interest is that of an Old Testament exegete. His critical point of view has always been much more conservative than the point of view of the Wellhausen school of critics. He is, therefore, at pains at many points in his work to find connections with the Biblical text and sometimes accords to the Biblical traditions a higher historical value than many scholars would do. There is, however, in his book no polemical tone and his scholarly attitude is manifest throughout the work.

The University of Pennsylvania. GEORGE A. BARTON.

A History of the First Bulgarian Empire. By Steven Runciman, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1930,

pp. xii, 337, 16 s.) Mr. Runciman's book is a companion work to his *Emperor Romanus Lecapenus,* which was recently discussed in this journal (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXV. 392). In that work he dealt with Bulgarian matters in some detail, especially in the period with which he was concerned, and drew largely upon the work of Bulgarian scholars, above all upon Zlatarski. He now gives us a rounded monograph which deals with the history of this one nation from its mythical beginning down to the fall of the first Bulgarian Empire in 1019. The fullness of the narrative waxes and wanes with the paucity or abundance of the sources; the high points, such as Krum's activities, Boris's reign, the introduction of Christianity, and the Bulgarian campaigns of Basil II. naturally receive the fullest treatment. Numerous disputed points are excised from the text and relegated to the twelve appendixes, which materially lightens the flow of the story. A bibliography, index, and an excellent map with the orography (essential for Balkan history) indicated on it, complete the work.

This is an extremely useful book. It possesses an inherent unity, such as the author's earlier work did not, and consequently the presentation is more even and harmonious. One might wish sometimes for rather more detail, for more concrete description, especially of topographical points, and a little less allusion. It is based on Zlatarski's great work as far as the latter goes, but ties in all the extensive and valuable literature of Bulgarian history which has been produced by their own scholars. Most of this is not accessible in the ordinary library and the average historian tends to find this language a vulnerable link in his philological panoply. It is by no means a mere summary, but is based on an independent study of the sources.

Typographically speaking, the book is creditably executed, and misprints are few, except in the bibliography. Why not use Greek characters where the book is in that language? The system of transcription is inconsistent and misprints are numerous. Many of the publications cited first appeared as parts of series, *e.g.,* Professor Vasiliev's dissertations and Baron von Rosen's book. This fact should be noted. The abbreviations for the Bulgarian serial publications might be somewhat more transparent.

Harvard University. ROBERT P. BLAKE.

Les Civilisations de l'Orient. Par René Grousset. Tome III., *La Chine.* (Paris, G. Crès and Company, 1930, pp. 360, 75 fr.) The title notwithstanding, this is by no means an account of Chinese civilization, but solely of Chinese art: philosophy, literature, music, and social organization are hardly mentioned. The author has for the first time attempted the ambitious task of constructing a complete picture of Chinese æsthetic history, of tracing the evolution of inspiration as well as of its products. Such a work could hardly be of even merit; nor could agreement with all of its conclusions be expected. Some of these are frankly molded by Pelliot and by Sirén, others by Charles Vignier. Although no

formal bibliography or index is appended, text and notes give ample evidence of familiarity with archæological sources. The 269 half-tone illustrations although small are clear and excellently chosen.

M. Grousset's contention that terror furnished inspiration for the noble bronze vessels cast by Shang and Jou craftsmen for sacrifice in the ancestral temples seems to harmonize badly with Chavannes's demonstration that ancestors were regarded as beneficent divinities. Perhaps it is more reasonable to suppose that the dynamic vigor of the bronzes is merely an artistic manifestation of that indomitable spirit which impelled the Chinese through centuries of bitter struggle at the dawn of history to convert the wilderness and swamps of the lower Yellow River plain into one of the granaries of the earth.

Demonstration, following Vignier, of æsthetic contrast between the realism and fluent motion of the flat linear art of Han China, and the heraldically conventional, vigorous but momentarily static, deeply molded art of the nomad steppes, suggests that whatever far-reaching exchange of influence took place probably dates only from the "Six dynasties". Well balanced and documented is the presentation of the diverse influences which united in the art of the various cultural centers of Bactria and Eastern Turkestan. Ceramics of historic periods—apart tomb figures—seem to hold little attraction for the author; perhaps few will recognize in the perfection of simple forms and subdued glazes of the Sung potters a sensualism totally foreign to the Chinese. The dates of the Yüan dynasty are cited (p. 328) as 1279 (year of actual extinction of the Sung)–1369; whereas Chinese practice (which dates the beginning of a reign or dynasty from the first of the ensuing calendar year) requires 1280–1367. In the absence of paintings from classical dynasties susceptible of certain attribution, or even serious comparative monographs of the type which Western art criticism demands, M. Grousset is reduced to mention, mainly from photographs, the few paintings of the reputed greatest masters for which he believes there is some presumption of authenticity.

Newtonville, Mass. CHARLES S. GARDNER.

Teinds and Agriculture: an Historical Survey. By Alexander A. Cormack, M.A., D.Litt., Officier d'Académie. (Oxford, University Press, 1930, pp. xi, 206, 7 s. 6 d.) In Scotland the word *teinds* is used in place of the term tithes. This book is a study of the history of Scottish tithes from the introduction of them by the Roman Church down to the Property and Endowment Act of 1925. It is both historical and legal in its nature, the latter element predominating. The author expresses the hope that the work "will be of use to landowners, clergymen, agents and others dealing with teinds in the course of business". However, the medievalist who may be interested in a narrow sphere of institutional history will find information in the book.

J. W. T.

Industrial Evolution. By N. S. B. Gras, Straus Professor of Business History, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930, pp. 259, $2.50.) The rather vague title of this book could be amplified by some such subtitle as this: a description of the stages in the development of manufacture, and an illustration of characteristic features of the recent industrial organization. These two subjects share the contents about equally.

Like every one else who discusses the vexed problem of stages, the author is dissatisfied with the work of his predecessors and like the others, he needs new words to distinguish his classes. The most primitive industry he calls "usufacture". The reader will forgive such vagaries, even if he does not approve them, for the book has the scholarly quality which always marks the author's work, is well informed, substantial, an interesting contribution to an important subject. The nomenclature proposed for the different stages is as follows: usufacture; retail handicraft; wholesale handicraft (1, independent; 2, dependent); centralized manufacture (1, central workshop; 2, factory).

The second part of the book branches out into description of the development of specific industries, and discusses such general topics as government aid, associations of employers and workmen, art in industry, large scale *vs.* small scale industry to-day.

Yale University. CLIVE DAY.

The Epochs of German History. By J. Haller, Professor of History in the University of Tübingen. Translated by E. W. Dickes. (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930, pp. xiii, 247, $3.50.) Judging from a number of samples taken at random, the work under review is a careful translation of the second edition of *"Die Epochen der Deutschen Geschichte"*, of the well-known Tübingen professor, Johannes Haller. The publishers are to be commended for not indulging in the annoying but common practice of attempting to invent more attractive titles for books of foreign origin. The work appeared in Germany first in 1922 and again in a revised form in 1927.

In *The Epochs of German History* the author makes no attempt to give the facts of German history. He is concerned rather with the turning points of the history of Germany and their significance. The twelve chapters of the work thus discuss the origin of the German state, the external tasks of the realm, the struggle with the Church and the dissolution of the old empire, the territorial states, the conquest of the northeast, the rise of the Hapsburgs, the Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, the era of Louis XIV., Prussia in triumph and eclipse, the growth of national self-consciousness, and the share of Prussia in the struggle for unity. These chapters are literally packed with interesting and stimulating interpretations of German history and should be read by every American scholar who attempts to write or to teach German history. They will challenge many an easy generalization current in American

lecture halls. In this connection his explanations of the policy of the medieval emperors, the significance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the political meaning of the Reformation, the cause of German progress, the policy of the house of Hapsburg, the rôle of Frederick II. and Bismarck, the size and arrangement of the South German states, German political parties, and many other generalizations might profitably be read and studied.

In the main the author looks at history from a national and a conservative point of view. He finds a justification for the principal turns in the course of German history down to the end of the Bismarckian régime. All subsequent to that date seems to be anathema. Instead of condemning the medieval emperors, for example, for their Italian policy, he finds it justified on the ground that it prevented the cutting off of Germany from the civilized world and the rise of an Italian kingdom that would have controlled the papacy, and since it gave the rulers of Germany access to a region rich in tolls and money, as valuable to them as India to England. He finds the policy of the territorial princes necessary and defensible. He even has a good word for the settlement of 1815 and the Prussian military system. He believes most of the policies adopted by Prussia to be necessary and inevitable. In fact, his trenchant reasoning is apt to leave the reader more than half persuaded that the Germans were a rational people who had some idea about what they were doing.

The University of Wisconsin. C. P. Higby.

The Voyages of the Cabots and the English Discovery of North America under Henry VII. and Henry VIII. By James A. Williamson, D.Lit. (London, Argonaut Press, 1929, pp. xiii, 290, 38 s.) Mr. Williamson has given us in this recent study of the Cabots and the earliest English discoveries in North America one of the most satisfactory accounts of these special activities that it has been the reviewer's opportunity to examine. There have appeared certain treatises, more elaborate perhaps, but none which in a more satisfactory manner sets before the student or the thoughtful reader the important basal contemporary records, well arranged and well classified.

The author has done well to present his documentary records, miscellaneous in character, as introductory material in his book. He who consults the work is given, first of all, the pleasurable opportunity of working out his own conclusions before passing to the author's own interpretations, valuable as practically all of them are. Here, for example, we find the earliest family records; the contemporary records of the earliest Cabot voyages to northwestward; the records of the Anglo-Portuguese voyages from Bristol; the records of Sebastian's northwest voyages, and his South American adventures when in the Spanish service. All of these documents are duly, although briefly, considered by the author, with a clear and acceptable treatment of Sebastian's part in the advancement of both Spanish and English discovery and exploration in those early years.

Attention has been given to a brief consideration of pre-Cabot exploration of the Atlantic to westward and to northwestward, wherein the most acceptable conclusions concerning Columbus and his enterprise are presented.

While the author does not think that Sebastian measures up to the standard of Magellan or Cortes, men who molded circumstances with an iron hand, nevertheless he displayed ability, pluck, and determination, and greatly influenced his time. His moral status, which has been so vigorously attacked by certain writers, the author thinks may be summed up as having been that of most, "neither black, nor white, but grey".

That the so-called Cabot map of 1544 now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris has little of the real Cabot information in it, can now be accepted. It is the purpose of the reviewer soon to reproduce this map in the size of the original with a special account of Sebastian's Spanish services.

The Argonaut Press is to be commended for this splendid piece of bookmaking.

Hispanic Society of America. E. L. Stevenson.

Wolsey. By Hilaire Belloc. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1930, pp. viii, 336, $5.00.) This life of Wolsey is intended for popular consumption. It lacks footnotes, a bibliography, and all the other obvious paraphernalia of scholarship. The facts are drawn for the most part from Professor Pollard's brilliant study of *Wolsey* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV. 337). The interpretation of the facts is from the point of view of one who sees in the English Reformation one of the major calamities of English history, and who is largely concerned with pointing out the shortcomings of every one connected with it. Henry VIII. is allowed no virtues and his break from Rome is ascribed entirely to the evil influence of Anne Boleyn. Anne herself is not even accredited with beauty or wit; her power to attract and hold men is admitted, but is not explained. Wolsey's great offense is that he did not devote his great abilities and his unique position to the business of preserving the unity of Christendom. The part which he played in laying the foundations for the Tudor monarchy is not denied, but it is not thought worthy of treatment. Of the rest of the cast, as Mr. Belloc calls them, More and Fisher and Catherine of Aragon are the only ones in England who escape wholesale censure. It is rather curious to discover so little appreciation of the forces underlying the Reformation movement, that Mr. Belloc at different times maintains that if Wolsey had willed it, or if Catherine of Aragon had been more acquiescent, or if Pope Adrian VI. had lived a little longer, the unity of Christendom would have been preserved. We are left to infer that if the unity of Christendom, as Mr. Belloc defines it, had been preserved, all would have been well with the world.

The book, as we should expect, is ably written, and the facts as stated (leaving conjectures, opinions, and estimates out of account), are with

one conspicuous exception, accurate enough. Mr. Belloc takes the liberty of transmuting all sums of money into what he considers their equivalent in modern values. The £1500 which Kingston deviled Wolsey about on his death bed (Pollard, *op. cit.*, p. 300) becomes £30,000 in Mr. Belloc's version (p. 296). Mr. Belloc justifies his procedure in a suggestive note (p. 302), but students should be careful to remember that the figures in his text are some twenty or thirty times the actual figures.

Philadelphia. CONYERS READ.

Bescheiden aangaande de Hervorming der Tucht in de Abdij van Egmond in de 15e Eeuw. Uitgegeven door Chr. S. Dessing. [Historisch Genootschap. Derde Serie, no. 53.] (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, 1930, pp. 319, 5.50 fl.) The Benedictine abbey of Egmond is the most famous monastery in the history of the Northern Netherlands. For centuries it possessed extensive holdings of land which stretched for more than fifteen miles along the dunes in the county of Holland. It may seem surprising, therefore, that a chronicle covering an important period in its history, and several official documents relating to this abbey, had never been utilized by Dutch historians until Mr. Dessing discovered them respectively in the Episcopal Seminary at Warmond and the General Archives in The Hague. The chronicle was composed by Theodore Buschman, who from 1491 to 1495 attempted to reform the monastery. He was one of the many reformers of the fifteenth century who were greatly moved by the lack of discipline in wealthy monasteries. His rather simple story forms a valuable contribution to the history of "Prereform" in the Low Countries. Mr. Dessing has published it with care, and has added a useful introduction.

The documents cover the period from 1421 to 1495, and, although they are less interesting than the chronicle, are somewhat more reliable. They prove that the Abbey of Egmond, at the close of the fifteenth century, was very much in need of reformation.

The University of Michigan. A. HYMA.

The Crisis of English Liberty: a History of the Stuart Monarchy and the Puritan Revolution. By Sir John A. R. Marriott, Honorary Fellow (formerly Fellow) of Worcester College, Oxford, late M.P. for the City of York. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930, pp. xiv, 472, $6.00.) It is not alone Americans who are being warned to-day that it behooves them to consider whether they still possess unaltered the liberty for which their forefathers fought. Sir J. A. R. Marriott in his eminently readable life of Falkland, published twenty-four years ago, envisaged the Puritan revolution as primarily a struggle in which Englishmen won political liberty through the establishment of parliamentary sovereignty, and personal liberty through the freeing of the judiciary from administrative interference. To-day he is convinced that they are right who have pointed out that both forms of liberty are being endangered by the

growing power of administrative departments and their large measure of freedom from judicial accountability. He fears that the seventeenth century conflict will have to be fought again, since "under conditions greatly altered and in forms not always recognizable, devices adopted by the Stuart Kings in their contest with Parliament and in their relations with the Judges are to-day making an unwelcome reappearance. . . . Our fathers fought against Princes; we have to fight against the Powers which lurk in the darkness of Whitehall and still cover themselves under the Prerogative of the Crown."

This book, which is addressed to the general reader, has been written in the hope that the story of their ancestors' fight for liberty will hearten English men and women for the renewal of the struggle. Since this is the author's purpose and he accepts unreservedly the definition of history as past politics, it would be idle to expect any but a political narrative, or more than fleeting references to social or economic factors. The period covered extends from the accession of James I. to the death of William III. American readers will be grateful for the chapters on Irish and Scottish affairs, where details are conveniently assembled which are usually widely scattered, and English readers may find it convenient to read the story of the American colonies neatly packed into twenty-two pages.

Sir J. A. R. Marriott is master of a delightful style, and has unusual skill in facilitating the progress of his readers by making the crooked straight and the rough places plain. His pages are pleasant to read and the tale as he tells it is easy to follow. But there is always danger that simplification may lead to a confusion of values, and condensation sometimes results in misleading statements. As modern scholarship painfully reconstructs from neglected manuscripts a fuller record of those old debates, the past politics of Stuart days more and more defy simplification. And it is necessary to record that the proportion of errors that have crept into this book is unduly high, in view of its distinguished authorship.

Vassar College. LOUISE FARGO BROWN.

Studies in Cromwell's Family Circle and Other Papers. By Robert W. Ramsey, F.S.A., F.R.S.L. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1930, pp. 206, $3.00.) Nearly thirty years ago Mr. Ramsey published in the *English Historical Review* the first of these scholarly and pleasantly written essays on the members of the Cromwell family and thereafter three others in more popular periodicals. These, with five others, not all relating to the Cromwells, he has now gathered into an informing and entertaining volume which takes one into the by-ways of the Cromwellian period on agreeable and instructive excursions. Those excursions are not confined to England. In fact, three of the essays relate to Viscount Fauconberg's embassy to Venice in 1669—one an account of the embassy proper, one a study of his manuscript account book, and

one an amusing essay on his secretary, that curious character, John Dodington. Another has to do with Sir Sackville Crow's embassy to Constantinople in Charles I.'s reign, and the last—a brief sketch—with the strange, surprising adventures of one Captain Galilee, sometime in Venetian service and prisoner of the Turk. These, with essays on Cromwell's daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, and the latter's husband, the Protector's Master of Horse, make up this amusing and well-informed collection, of the more importance in that much of its information is derived from manuscript sources not otherwise easily, if at all, accessible.

Harvard University. W. C. Abbott.

Le Jansénisme: Pascal et Port-Royal. Par Jules Chaix-Ruy, Agrégé de l'Université. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1930, pp. 167, 15 fr.) Like many others, M. Chaix-Ruy has been attracted by Pascal's unfinished defense of Christianity, known as the *Pensées,* and has attempted a reconstitution.

He gives a clear, succinct history of Port-Royal and Jansenism before Pascal's association with them, a short sketch of Pascal's early life and a rapid analysis of the *Provinciales.* All this is meant as an introduction to the *Pensées* upon which the writer concentrates his efforts.

M. Chaix-Ruy, who is a Catholic and does not conceal the fact, brings into his work the results of his own thoughts and various readings from Plato through Voltaire, Hegel, and Renan to Pierre Loti, Barrès, and the Comtesse de Noailles. He claims that Pascal is not a Jansenist, or at any rate not much of one, that he is, on the contrary, a Catholic keeping to the high road of orthodox doctrine. The author finds Pascal's apology of the Catholic religion to contain the essential and convincing arguments and urges its utilization even to-day.

It is easy to see from the preceding lines that M. Chaix-Ruy does not study Pascal objectively. This being understood, his interesting and intelligent book escapes criticism that it would otherwise encounter. Let us only notice in passing the attribution to Pascal of a sentence written by Jacqueline (p. 48). But the thoughts of the brother and sister coincide.

Vassar College. Maria Tastevin Miller.

Die Entwicklung des Norwegischen Nationalismus. Von Dr. Andreas Elviken. [Historische Studien, Heft 198, herausgegeben von Dr. E. Ebering.] (Berlin, Emil Ebering, 1930, pp. 132, 5.20 M.) Two centuries ago such patriotic feeling as one might have found among the Norwegian people would be of a distinctly local character; a hundred years later Norway had become a self-governing state, the citizens of which were bending their energies toward making their country a unit in almost every field of national life. The story of this change is the theme of Dr. Elviken's book. After a discussion of the conditions that made national integration difficult to attain, the author proceeds to a study of the efforts of a small group of writers in the eighteenth century

to awaken the Northern mind to a higher appreciation of things Norwegian and to familiarize that same mind with certain novel ideas that were becoming current in the lands beyond the sea. Then follow chapters on the movement for political freedom, on the agitation for the recognition of Norwegian culture, and on the demand for a national language. Due attention is also given to the work of the Norwegian historical school which has done much to strengthen the national self-respect.

Dr. Elviken's point of view proves to be radically different from that of a school of historians who find the great causes of human history in economic conditions and necessities and who regard the movement for Norwegian independence as a phase, or an outcome, of the perennial class struggle. But the author argues that, while there was no doubt class friction in Norway in the eighteenth century, there was and could be no such struggle in the Marxian sense. National-mindedness could come only through education; and in the process of this education he seems to regard the influence of alien ideas, French and English, as a highly important factor.

L. M. L.

Valady, 1766–1793, des Gardes Françaises à la Convention. Par B. Combes de Patris. (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1930, pp. ix, 186, 12 fr.) It must have been G. Lenôtre who somewhere remarked that one could get a more accurate picture of the French Revolutionary era through studying unimportant characters than through focusing the attention on the giants. For the Dantons, the Mirabeaus, even the Robespierres and Saint-Justs of this world always transcend their epoch and partake of the common denominator we call greatness. It is in the small fry, slaves of their time and place, that we find the background against which great men had to work. Of such was Valady.

For the Marquis de Valady seems to have exhibited in his life most of the vices and few of the virtues of La Fayette. Like him, a liberal noble nourished on the writings of the *philosophes*, Valady's life was a scatterbrained affair. Married at sixteen to a child of eleven, officer in the Gardes Françaises, he attempted to run away to America (which in common with many of his contemporaries he pictured as a new Salentum); was ignominiously brought back by his family; led the revolt of his regiment at Paris; sat in the Convention, endured proscription with the other Girondins; hid in the provinces with such men as Barbaroux, Pétion, Buzot, Guadet; was denounced and executed by the Mountain—all this in twenty-seven years. His was a brief and, on the whole, foolish life. But it tells a world about the Revolution.

This small volume serves its purpose. Written in a somewhat social manner, it is appropriately dedicated to Valady's titled descendant. It furnishes but a meager historical background for its hero. There is an appendix containing some characteristic and pertinent legal documents;

a very brief bibliography; few footnotes, despite the use of unpublished materials; no index.

"He is a sick man", observed an acquaintance of this vegetarian, Pythagorean, ecstatic young noble, Xavier de Valady. "When with him, you are glad to see time fly." But the reader will find it reasonably profitable to spend with Valady the few moments necessary to peruse this sketch of his career.

The University of Virginia. STRINGFELLOW BARR.

Les Gardes Rouges de l'An II.: l'Armée Révolutionnaire et le Parti Hébertiste. Par Antoine Hadengue. Préface de Louis Madelin, de l'Académie Française. (Paris, Plon, 1930, pp. ix, 270, 15 fr.) In M. Hadengue's book we have, professedly at least, another study in the organization of France under the Terror; a sketch of the inception, activities, and dissolution of the Revolutionary army, a special corps mobilized in September, 1793, to check counter-revolution and to carry out requisitions in the interior, but disbanded after the execution of the Hébertist leaders in the spring of 1794. The author refers only briefly to the political activities of the Hébertist party, a topic already treated at length by many writers; but in dealing with the Revolutionary army, the extremists' favorite corps, he covers ground almost new, certainly explored before in merely perfunctory fashion.

The manner of the covering, however, confirms doubts already raised in the reader's mind by the title. Thus the France of 1793 was "driven by four hundred haggard regicides" and "lorded over by furies". The men of July 14 were "rioters", those of August 10 "authors of massacre"; all the Revolutionary armies were so many "collections of worthless fellows". With such pronounced opinions in the author's mind, the book tends to become a calendar of the worst deeds of the worst men in the Revolutionary army and the extremist party. That the Hébertist leaders were far from models of wisdom or conduct, all will admit; nevertheless, it is hardly justice to ignore their few virtues. The rank and file, as depicted in Laukhard's *Allemand en France* (a book overlooked in M. Hadengue's bibliography but of first importance for the subject as the author served in the Revolutionary army) appear little worse than their comrades of the front. M. Hadengue's presentation savors of the one-sided.

One recurrent theme of the book, expressed in M. Madelin's preface, is to the effect that the Revolutionary army was instituted "to bring communism and atheism into France"; and in the author's corollary, that the motive of the army's requisitionary activities was simply envy of those who produce or possess. There is here surely a strange misunderstanding. At no time during the Terror was there serious question of communism, but only of emergency measures to relieve the hardships of the sans-culottes at the expense of the middle class and the peasants, both of whom were principal gainers by the Revolution and ought to

have been ready to share its burdens. Nor was the Revolutionary alternative to Catholicism atheism, but deism. Though imperfect as history, the book is eminently readable, possessing as it does a full measure of that delightful wit and clarity which seem peculiarly native to France.

The University of Buffalo. WILFRED BRENTON KERR.

The Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1860 and the Progress of the Industrial Revolution in France. By Arthur Louis Dunham, University of Michigan. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1930, pp. xii, 409, $3.00.) This is a very satisfactory study of the negotiations that preceded the establishment of the Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce in 1860. Mr. Dunham, however, goes beyond the story of the treaty itself and in the second part of his book he has constructed a lucid and careful story of the progress made by the Industrial Revolution in France during the years subsequent to the agreement.

His treatment of the steps leading up to the treaty is almost biographical. Chevalier, Cobden's counterpart in France, lives in these early chapters and appears as a great idealist who was seeking to alleviate the economic ills of Europe as well as of France. His ideas and his habits of thought are carefully analyzed. Chevalier's efforts met with success in 1860 when the commercial agreement was forced upon France in a manner that was then in vogue and that is quite reminiscent of a similar *coup d'état* in the field of politics. The manner of its enforcement, however, did not interfere with its benefits. The increase of direct trade that it allowed was of great assistance to both England and France. And it set an example that, within ten years, was followed by all of the great states of Europe. It was coincident with the inauguration of a plan on the part of the emperor for a series of loans to French manufacturers (a matter in which Mr. Dunham shows Chevalier to have played an important part), which enabled French industrials to meet foreign competition more readily by making it possible for them to improve their methods. The succeeding chapters of the book treat of the improvement and growth of the various great industries of modern France.

In spite of the advantages that the treaty brought to France it was destined to become a bone of contention in the great political struggles that began in 1868. Part of the policy of Napoleon III., it became the *bête noire* of the anti-imperialists and of M. Thiers who passed on to their successors the heritage of hate for Chevalier's system. In 1877 the French returned to a policy of high protection.

This study presented by Mr. Dunham is a scholarly and creditable piece of work, worthy of the series of which it forms a part.

J. M. S. A.

The Paris Commune: an Episode in the History of the Socialist Movement. By Edward S. Mason, Assistant Professor of Economics in Harvard University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. xiv,

386, $5.00.) With interest now centered upon the Russian upheaval of 1917, students are considering the opinions of the revolutionists who saw in the Paris Commune of 1871 the first step in the evolution of the dictatorship of the proletariat. From Marx to Lenin this was the case and Dr. Mason has shown the influence of the Paris uprising upon the thought and action of all schools of socialism. He has also pointed out that the simple explanation of the class struggle as the main element in the insurrection is not adequate for the keynote of a very complicated situation brought about by war losses, the Paris siege, the battles of republicans and monarchists, and the ideas of Proudhon and Blanqui.

It is unfortunate, however, that the author did not complete the study of Thiers during these days of opposition to the Commune. The chief executive of France embarked upon a policy which intensified the hatred between Versailles and Paris. This took the form of an uncompromising stand whenever peaceful means were suggested by his colleagues. Mention is made neither of this nor of the negotiations over the exchange of prisoners and the moves of French Masons and others to bring about recognition of the Commune's platform. The Communards' aims, chaotic as they were, likewise should have been described, particularly their desire to modify the harshness of the capitalistic system.

There are also gaps in the parts dealing with the influence of Proudhon. The treatment does not show any connection between him and the general organization of the Commune. Proudhon's ideas of a federation, pact, contract, or treaty between several communes, pledged to coöperation, with management in the hands of the delegates to the federation, were part of the philosophical baggage of the Communards as well as the basis for the Soviet system.

West Virginia University. THOMAS EDSON ENNIS.

Retrospect: an Unfinished Autobiography, 1848–1886. By Arthur James, first Earl of Balfour. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930, pp. ix, 245, $3.50.) Lord Balfour was not framed by nature to write the best of autobiographies. He was of too detached a spirit, too unwilling to seem to take himself and his career over-seriously, and he had, as he tells us, a poor memory. Moreover, what is here printed is but a fragment, begun when the writer was near his eightieth birthday and left unfinished at his death less than two years later. His account of his boyhood, his Cambridge days, and his other days of youth until at twenty-six he entered the field of politics, is gracefully written and entertaining, but contains less substance than many men of much less talent have put into the earlier chapters of their autobiographies. At the end of the political narrative, which goes no farther than the election of July, 1886, a very agreeable chapter on recollections of social life and seven pages on the visit to America in 1917 are added. The most valuable part of the book is the chapters on the Fourth party before and after Disraeli's death, and the resounding political events of

1884–1886. On the former, Lord Balfour's autobiography of course speaks with not less authority than the more elaborate biography of Lord Randolph Churchill. On the political moves of 1884–1886 he casts not a little light, and does it with so skillful a pen that it makes very good reading.

J. F. J.

German Diplomatic Documents, 1871–1914. Volume III., *The Growing Antagonism, 1898–1910.* Selected and translated by E. T. S. Dugdale. With a Preface by the Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Bart., G.C.M.G., former British Ambassador in Spain and Austria-Hungary. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1930, pp. xxii, 441, $7.50.) Of the thirty-one sections in which the documents of this volume are grouped, eight relate to affairs in the Far East, seven to the Near East, five to the Anglo-German naval problem, four to Anglo-German political relations, four to Africa (the Boer war and Morocco), and the others to Samoa, the Hague Peace Conference, and Venezuela. By far the most valuable of these sections are those on the naval problem. Here is a subject, localized as between Germany and Britain, and thus less affected by the absence of documents in which contacts with other governments are concerned, which is presented with reasonable adequacy. Selection of the documents for this volume has been obviously affected by the publication of the *British Documents on the Origins of the War,* as yet not available when volumes I. and II. of this series were compiled. Numerous useful references are indicated.

For the reviewer, who is not concerned with the details of evidence concerning some particular diplomatic problem, and who endeavors to maintain detachment, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the general tendency of German diplomacy from 1898 to 1910 was not only self-deceptive but also lacking in finesse and adaptability. "The naïve candor of British self-seeking" which the German foreign office so penetratingly discovered is clearly matched by the *naïveté* of German innocence. Respecting naval competition it would seem that the documents make it impossible to believe that the directors of German policy were honest with themselves or with their own agents. Most creditable to Germany, however, is the passage from the minutes of a meeting of the highest personages (June 3, 1909) in which Bülow stated, in defense of Metternich's reports from England, that "the first duty of a representative of His Majesty was to report the truth and to describe circumstances as they actually were. He, the Chancellor, would always support an Ambassador who did this, whether or not the unvarnished truth was pleasant to hear." Unfortunately, this policy of Bülow's had not long to live, nor did it become broadly effective.

The serviceableness of a volume of this sort would be much enhanced if the List of Principal Personages and the index were more nearly complete.

Amherst College. LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

Russian Local Government during the War and the Union of Zemstvos. By Tikhon J. Polner, formerly Member of the Supreme Court of Russia and formerly Chairman of the Executive Board of the Zemstvo Union on the Western Front. In collaboration with Prince Vladimir A. Obolensky, formerly Chairman of the Executive Board of the Zemstvo of Tver, and Sergius P. Turin, Representative of the Union of Zemstvos in London during the War. With an Introduction by Prince George E. Lvov, Prime Minister of the Russian Provisional Government and formerly President in the Union of Zemstvos. [Economic and Social History of the World War, Russian series. Published for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, pp. xv, 317, $3.25.) The authors of this volume give a great deal of information concerning the activities of the zemstvos during the war, comprising the relief of sick and wounded soldiers, of families of mobilized men, of refugees, and the organization of hospitals and medical work in the army. From the second year of the war the zemstvos took part in the provisioning of the army as well as in the supplying of military equipment and munitions. In 1916, the number of medical and sanitary institutions of the Union of Zemstvos was over 5000, while the number of beds maintained by the Union reached the figure of nearly 200,000.

While the authors try to avoid political controversies, they can not conceal their irritation against the imperial government then in control, which, suspicious of the political aims of the Union, put constant obstacles in the way of its work. We have, however, to keep in mind, on the other hand, that the imperial government did not spare the treasury funds for the work of the zemstvos. "By January 1, 1916, the total sum appropriated by the Government for the needs of the Zemstvo Union had risen to 187,467,244 rubles" (p. 72), while the Zemstvos' own appropriations for war needs amounted by this time to 32,056,100 rubles. The total sum of Government appropriations for both the individual zemstvos and the Union of Zemstvos up to 1917 was in the neighborhood of 2,000,000,000 rubles.

Very valuable for every student of Russia are the first two chapters of the volume as well. These chapters deal with the zemstvo activities before the war, such as educational and medical service, fire insurance, and measures for the advancement of peasant agriculture. There was a great expansion of zemstvo work during the decade preceding the outbreak of the war.

Yale University. G. VERNADSKY.

České Dějepisectví v Prvém Desetiletí Republiky. By Václav Novotný. (Prague, Dr. Ed. Grégr and Son, 1929, pp. 162.) The productivity of Czech historians has immeasurably increased since the breakup of the Austrian Empire and subsequent formation of the Czecho slovak Republic. Dr. Václav Novotný, professor of Czech history in

the Charles University, Prague, gives a detailed account of *Czech Historiography in the First Decade of the Republic*. He describes the present condition of Czech archives, municipal and national, the close relationship existing between the government through its various ministries to the learned societies, the progress made in cataloguing large manuscript collections and in publication of critical texts, memoirs, registers, and muniments. He discusses briefly the work done within the last ten years in all the auxiliary sciences, archæology, numismatics, sphragistics, heraldry, paleography, which in the case of Bohemia, a state with a fairly continuous existence of over a thousand years, are extremely important. There is a section on legal history as well as one on local history, two pages on the work of Czech historians in general, *i.e.*, non-Czech history, and a brief necrology. Bibliographical notes appear at the end of the work. There is a good index.

California Institute of Technology. S. H. Thomson.

Mes Missions Diplomatiques: Belgrade, Sofia, Constantinople, Galatz, Bruxelles, Le Havre, Luxembourg, Athènes, 1887–1925. Par Trandafir G. Djuvara, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Roumanie. Préface de M. Victor Bérard, Président de la Commission des Affaires Étrangères du Sénat, ancien Ministre. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1930, pp. iv, 179, 25 fr.) The author's diplomatic experiences opened at Belgrade in the days of King Milan and closed amid the storms of the Greek revolutions of the decade just ended. They included residences at Sofia, Constantinople, and Brussels. Characteristic scenes at the court of Abdul Hamid are especially well drawn. M. Djuvara quotes freely from a diary that he kept and from his dispatches to the home government. These passages and his comments illumine many incidents of the period, although they add little that is material to a comprehension of its essential features. The intensity of the Balkan rivalries and the passions of the World War have left their mark upon his attitude toward Bulgarians, Austrians, and Germans.

Les Responsabilités de la Guerre. Quatorze Questions, par René Gerin, ancien Élève de l'École Normale Supérieure, Agrégé des Lettres. *Quatorze Réponses,* par Raymond Poincaré, de l'Académie Française. [Collection de Mémoires, Études et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale.] (Paris, Payot, 1930, pp. 186, 15 fr.) This book, as the title correctly implies, contributes to the doctrine of war responsibility rather than to the *dossier* of sources on war origins. René Gerin, "simple citizen" and ex-soldier, believing that German responsibilities are well enough known and that it would be wise for "the French to recognize their own", challenges Poincaré to reply to certain questions which he will propound. Poincaré accepts the challenge. It is arranged that questions and replies are to be published together, Gerin will not add a word to Poincaré's replies, and the authors' royalties will

be turned over to an international association of veterans. After these fine gestures have introduced the debate, Gerin sets up the case for French war responsibility in fourteen propositions, which he disguises as questions by appending to them such rhetorical inquiries as, "Are you not sensitive to these contradictions?" "Do you not think that falsification should cease to be an industry in diplomacy?" And Poincaré replies ponderously in a hundred and forty pages of documented refutation. Of Gerin's fourteen points, all but three relate more or less directly to two intertwined themes, the equivalence of mobilization and war, and the perversion of the Russian alliance to an aggressive object. This is the core of his case.

The argument, the details of which we can not follow here, has served two useful purposes: it has shown the difficulty that confronts revisionists in trying to elaborate a self-consistent doctrine of French war responsibility, and it has given Poincaré another opportunity, as in 1921, 1922, 1925, and 1927,[1] to give the world a measure of the movement of his thought. Starting from the premise that the problem of war origins can not be segregated into separate aspects but must be viewed as a whole, Poincaré finds in the Schlieffen plan the key to German war responsibility (p. 84), and ceases to insist on the plot aspect of the Potsdam Council. He now admits, as he would not in 1922, that war responsibility should be discussed without preoccupations of patriotism. He has given up his old habit of citing article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles as a source of pre-war history. He confesses that on January 2, 1923, he learned that Russian mobilization preceded Austrian and that document number 118 of the French *Yellow Book* was falsified. He begins to expound an almost Wilsonian theory of the distinction between the German government and people; "It was not the German people who took upon themselves this brusque decision" (p. 106). Is it along this line that he will seek conciliation with Germany?

Western Reserve University. ROBERT C. BINKLEY.

The Land and the Peasant in Rumania: the War and Agrarian Reform, 1917–1921. By David Mitrany, Ph.D., B.Sc. [Economic and Social History of the World War, James T. Shotwell, LL.D., General Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, pp. xxxiv, 627, $5.00.) This is an ambitious and remarkably successful effort to picture the development of the Roumanian peasant, his exploitation by the landowner, the upheaval caused by the Russian Revolution, and the course and immediate results of the recent expropriation. Incidentally it throws many side lights on political history, like the account of Stere's conversation with Bratiano in 1913, and King Ferdinand's share in the reform. Dr. Mitrany writes with obvious partiality for the Peasant party, and a certain bias against capitalism in general, and especially against the pre-

[1] *Les Origines de la Guerre* (Paris, 1921); Chambre des Députés, *Débats*, July 6, 1922; The Responsibility for the War, in *Foreign Affairs* (Oct., 1925); *Au Service de la France* (Paris, 1927), vol. IV.

vailing policy of protecting manufactures at the expense of the farmer. He describes with relish the unexpected results of government interference with the wheat-grower, to which (combined with the post-war droughts and the higher standard of peasant living) he largely attributes Roumania's eclipse as a wheat-growing country. The book gives a wholesome corrective to the widespread impression that Hungarians were singled out for expropriation. The Roumanian Academy suffered as severely as the former enemy institutions, and the author emphasizes the settling of Hungarian peasants on the land, which had struck me forcibly in looking through village lists in Transylvania. He notes the surprising fact that the reform has produced comparatively slight change in agricultural method; the peasant now farms, just as he did before, land which used to be the great landowner's, but is now his own. Dr. Mitrany brings out hosts of interesting facts—the hampering contraction of farm credits during these hard times, the technical difficulties of the reform, etc.—and finds a great improvement already in the peasant's status and general attitude. He has observed on the spot, and has wide command of the printed sources. I note, however, that (p. 179) he seems not to know Titulesco's full statement of the enormous cost of expropriating French and British subjects in Bessarabia (extorted in return for signing the Bessarabian treaty), which I published in my *Bessarabia* in 1927. His English is often hard and unidiomatic; misprints appear too often; the book would have gained also by condensation. There are excellent appendixes on the "răzeshi", crop-sharing systems, and the latest statistics. The bibliography is very full, and the index excellent. Altogether this highly competent and most instructive book forms a credit to the series.

New York. CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

Colonial Records of Spanish Florida. Volume II., 1577–1580. Translated and edited by Jeannette Thurber Connor. (De Land, Florida State Historical Society, 1930, pp. xxxix, 382.) The late Mrs. Connor was one of the two or three principal founders of the Florida State Historical Society, and the mainspring of a large portion of its work. Her loss is a severe one not only to the society but to the important work of illuminating the dark period of Florida history which extends from the death of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1574, where Lowery's book ends, to the termination of the first Spanish period in 1768. Mrs. Connor's first volume, published in 1925 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI. 833), presented documents of much interest of the years 1570–1577. The present volume, left by her partially prepared but completed by Dr. James A. Robertson, gives fifty-one documents, of the four years from 1577 to 1580 inclusive, presenting Spanish originals from the Archives of the Indies, excellent English translations, and such notes as are necessary. To cover the remaining 183 years of the first Spanish period on such a scale would take many volumes and a long time, but at all events the documents now pre-

sented are interesting and significant. The longest of them is a visitation of the forts of St. Augustine and Santa Elena by Álvaro Flores, who gives minute descriptions. The principal figure in the book is the vigorous governor, Pedro Menéndez Márques. Seven documents from him illustrate all secular aspects of the administration of a small and unprosperous Spanish colony. An equal number from the *visitador,* Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo, show thoroughly whatever faults could be found.

Social and Economic History of the United States. Volume I., ***From Handicraft to Factory, 1500–1820.*** By Harry J. Carman. (Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1930, pp. xii, 616, $4.00.) It is not altogether clear what the author had in mind in writing this book, but its purpose seems to be to serve as a text for teaching the "new history" in a modernized history department. Professor Carman indeed declares that the time is ripe for a better synthetic picture of American life and states that this volume represents "an effort to give the college student as well as the general reader what seems (*sic*) to me to be the more salient features of American civilization" (p. vi). An examination of the table of contents shows that these salient elements resolve themselves into the following, with the indicated allotment of space: economic (125 pages), social and intellectual (200 pages), political (225 pages), geographical (25 pages). The purpose of the author is further elucidated by a rather apologetic statement that he is including certain social and economic factors because they "constitute the warp and woof of our political life". The volume may be accepted therefore as an economic interpretation of our political history. Judged from this standpoint it is disappointing. Except in the chapters on the Revolution and the Constitution, where the influence of the Beards is marked, the causal relationship between economics and politics is seldom indicated, though more is done along this line than in the ordinary political history where economic events are usually treated as if they were wholly discrete.

In view of the title of the volume, which is given additional emphasis by the subtitle *From Handicraft to Factory,* the reviewer is disposed to judge it from the standpoint of economic history. Whatever may be its merits as "new history", it contributes nothing new to economic history. Certainly the most outstanding feature of our economic life during the period covered was agriculture, but to this topic only nine pages have been allotted for the colonial period, and one page for the period from 1763 to 1820. Somewhat more space is given to the land policies of the government. Labor is dismissed with a scant dozen pages, and banking is not discussed at all. The index gives a single reference to the "National Bank", by which the Bank of the United States is evidently meant, but does not indicate whether it is the First or the Second Bank. More space is given to the colonial merchant and manufacturer, but the very use of the latter term is misleading, for the colonial handicraftsman was

a "manufacturer" only in the etymological sense of the word. Errors of fact as well as of emphasis were also found to which it is not necessary to refer in a review.

A long list of books is appended to each chapter, among which are included three collections of documents on economic history, but not one of the twenty odd texts which have been written in the past quarter century on the economic, industrial, and social history of the United States is mentioned. No original source material is indicated in the volumes listed.

The University of Illinois. E. L. BOGART.

The Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, 1609–1664. By Christopher Ward. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930, pp. xi, 393. $5.00.)

The Instruction for Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden. Translated from the Swedish with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, including Letters from Governor John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and Minutes of Courts, sitting in New Sweden, by Amandus Johnson, with a special Introduction by John Frederick Lewis, President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia, Swedish Colonial Society, 1930, pp. xvi, 287, $6.00.) Mr. Ward's book, which begins with Henry Hudson's visit to the Delaware Bay region in 1609, moves rapidly and interestingly on to its main theme, the struggle between the Swedes and the Dutch on the Delaware River, a contest that is enlivened by two of the most colorful personalities in American colonial history, the Swedish governor, Johan Printz, lieutenant colonel of cavalry in the Thirty Years' War in spite of his reputed four hundred pounds, and the Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, one-legged, irascible and energetic. That a literary artist such as Mr. Ward employs his advantage needs hardly be said. His book is literature, and deserves to be judged as literature. As such it fills very well the legitimate demand for good reading of the semi-scholarly type. To apply to it the rigid standards of historical technique would hardly be fair.

Dr. Johnson's edition of *The Instruction for Johan Printz,* Governor of New Sweden, is a thoroughly scholarly work. Including, as it does, many documents, letters, reports, court proceedings, and a biography of the governor, it constitutes without doubt the best source book that has yet appeared on the history of the Swedish colonizing attempt on the Delaware. Dr. Johnson is to be highly commended for the thoroughness with which he has accomplished this work. The translations are based, as far as possible, on original Swedish archival materials of undisputed authenticity; the copious footnotes, with full information on the divergencies that appear in the several texts, provide the reader with almost all the advantages of a parallel-column edition; and for those who understand Swedish the text of *The Instruction* in that language on the pages opposite the English translation affords ample proof of the meticulous

accuracy of the latter. In his effort to be true to the original document, Dr. Johnson has, the reviewer thinks, in two or three places, adhered too literally to the Swedish word order and idiom, but these flaws are in no wise important. The fifty-one page biography of Printz deserves a special word. Based upon patient scrutiny of Swedish and other sources, it stands as the best connected account of the life of the Swedish governor.

The University of Pittsburgh. B. J. Hovde.

Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. Volume IV., *October 25, 1721–October 28, 1739.* (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1930, pp. lvii, 555, $5.00.) Dr. McIlwaine has lavished upon this volume the same care shown in the editing of previous numbers of the Council Journals. The text from October 25, 1721, through October 28, 1734, is taken from the manuscript volume in the Virginia State Library. But a comparison has been made with the copies sent to England, and now preserved in the British Public Record Office, and omissions, changes in wording, etc., carefully noted. The material from November 1, 1734, to October 28, 1739, is taken from the British copies. The value of the volume is greatly enhanced by an excellent index.

Although the Council Journals touch every phase of Virginia history during the administrations of Spotswood, Drysdayle, Robert Carter, and Gooch, they are especially useful in the study of westward expansion. The static period, when the colonists were so dependent on trade with England that they dared not move far from deep water, had now passed, and they were reaching out to grasp the unoccupied lands between the Fall Line and the Blue Ridge, moving by the thousands into Spotsylvania, Brunswick, and other new counties. At the same time, a stream of immigrants from Pennsylvania was thrusting itself southwest up the Shenandoah Valley. The Journals are crowded with references to these movements, and to the controversy to which they gave rise with Thomas, Lord Fairfax, proprietor of the Northern Neck.

Indian affairs, also, occupy a prominent place in the Journals. At one time the council is concerned with the Albany conference, at another with the Cherokee fur trade, at another with a treaty with the Nottaways. Tobacco, as always in Virginia history, looms large, many pages being devoted to Governor Gooch's warehouse system, and to the complaints against his inspectors, and the burning of warehouses. Less frequently mentioned, but of great importance, are the questions of defense, the fear of slave insurrections, religious matters, the attacks on the royal prerogative, pirates, the quitrents, and dealings with other colonies. And across the pages of the Journals move the leading men of the colony, not great figures such as Virginia produced in later days, but typical of their times and the society they represented, and so always interesting—Alexander Spotswood, William Gooch, John Randolph, William Byrd II., James Blair, Robert Carter, Lord Fairfax, Edmund Jennings, John Grymes.

Princeton University. T. J. Wertenbaker.

Bristol, Rhode Island: a Town Biography. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930, pp. 173, $2.50.) The subtitle of this pleasantly discursive little volume suggests a new *genre*. But what we have is rather some anecdotal biographies drawn from the colorful past of an American seaport town. For now two centuries and a half Bristol has looked out upon its harbor from the promontory between Poppasquash and Mount Hope: has seen her slavers depart for the African coast and her privateers return laden with the spoils of French Guiana or of British merchantmen. There too in later times the Herreshoffs have launched the fastest of racing yachts. Mr. Howe confesses that he has leaned heavily upon two books by Bristol's historian, Professor Wilfred H. Munro. He gives us in addition, not too uncritically, a good deal of traditional lore handed down in his own family. Almost of necessity the "biography" of Bristol revolves around the numerous tribe of DeWolfes. But this descendant has written in no spirit of apology for the commercial expedients by which they raised themselves in the world and built their charming houses. Along with much worldliness he finds that piety has been a recurrent trait in the town character. The piety of Bristol, however, has been worn with a difference from that of some other New England towns of more authentic Puritan lineage; it has its chief exemplar here in the Episcopal Bishop Griswold.

There are portraits and architectural illustrations, a bibliographical note, and an index.

V. W. C.

The Religious Background of American Culture. By Thomas Cuming Hall, D.D., Professor of English and American History and Culture, University of Goettingen. (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1930, pp. xiv, 348, $3.00.) The author of this volume sets out to prove the thesis that the foundation of the American social structure is not English Puritanism, but rather the much older dissenting tradition which dates back to John Wyclif and the Lollard movement. And so sure is he that he has fully succeeded in making his case that he expresses the hope that in the future, "in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred" the phrase "the Anglo-American Dissenting Mind" will be substituted for the term "Puritan". With such a thesis to prove, the first seven chapters are very properly devoted to the origin of this dissenting tradition, in which are pointed out the differences between Puritanism and this older form of dissent. Wyclif is proclaimed the father of Anglo-American Protestantism and the doctrines he taught and the practices he instituted "still control the lives of thousands and thousands of men and women in England and America", though it is admitted that many of the "simple folk" in the land which Wyclif did not know existed, are not aware where they got their inspiration. In part II.—fifteen chapters—the history of religion in America is passed in review to show how this old dissenting tradition has continued to manifest itself and influence the development of American religion and culture.

It must be admitted that this book contains many interesting suggestions, but the thesis which the author sets out to prove, as a key to an understanding of the development of religion in America, to this reviewer, at least, seems wholly inadequate. This inadequacy becomes increasingly apparent in the last half of the volume where the author attempts to interpret later developments. Little evidence is given of familiarity with the more recent studies in American religious history. In fact there are few books, in the rather extensive but repetitious bibliography, which were published since 1910, and to one who is thoroughly convinced that the frontier played a preponderate part in the development of American religion, the complete absence of even a bare mention of the term strikes one as strange in a book which attempts to explain American religious development. To try to interpret present day American religion in terms of a six-hundred-year-old tradition would seem to indicate that the one making such an attempt has his eyes toward Europe and has not yet discovered America. It is a pity that the author did not stick to his title and confine his study to background.

The University of Chicago. W. W. Sweet.

Robert Feke, Colonial Portrait Painter. By Henry Wilder Foote. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930, pp. xix, 223, $7.50.) "This apparently silent and unobtrusive man came and went, without leaving a trace behind him save the portraits which he painted." Thus Foote in describing Feke's visit to Boston might almost have summed his whole life. The biography of a more nebulous character could hardly have been attempted. Even in this case the author devotes far more space to conjecture than to fact. Of Feke's ancestry, of his wife and children we know a reasonable amount, he himself eludes us. In the records of his daughter's marriage, years after his death, he is set down as mariner instead of painter, and when or where he died is quite unknown, perhaps he is buried in Bermuda or Barbados! Two mentions of him by contemporaries and eighteen portraits signed with his name or initials practically complete the tale of authentic documents.

So the author is left to conjecture what other paintings may be his, and when and where they were done, and how often he visited Philadelphia, how often Boston, and how he learned his art. Building hypothesis on hypothesis, a semblance of biography results; all possible, much of it plausible, but carrying little or no sense of conviction. And after all, does it matter? Feke's pictures live, some seventy are known; thirty-five that give assurance of being by his brush are so admirably reproduced by Foote that we may admit with Lawrence Park, "As a painter Feke has no superior in this country, prior to 1760". The illustrations and the scholarly catalogue of portraits, both certain and attributed, appended to the book, make it of great value to students of early American painting. But as for a biography or study of the man, the author frankly convinces us that nothing of the sort can yet be written.

The Library of Congress. Leicester B. Holland.

Pulaski w Ameryce, w Stopięćdziesiątą Rocznicę Zgonu. By Dr. Władysław Wayda. (Warsaw, Nakładem Księgarni F. Hoesicka, 1930, pp. lxxvii, 110.) Pulaski has become, with Kosciuszko, a great bond of Polish-American friendship. This is the most serious of the numerous writings provoked by the sesquicentenary of his death. It is divided into two parts: the first, a Polish text of some hundred pages, gives the historical narrative of his career from his first meeting with Silas Deane in Paris in October, 1776. Dr. Wayda has industriously collected his documents; they have so dominated him that his text becomes merely quotations connected by editorial comment. He has contributed no new materials to his subject; his work resembles the more fragmentary researches of Griffin twenty years ago. Where we might expect some critical summary we find that the author buries Pulaski beneath the choice flowers of William Howard Taft's oratory.

The second part, consisting of seventy-seven pages of correspondence and original documents in English and French, is valuable. The editor has courageously attempted to reproduce Pulaski's orthographical peculiarities; the numerous misprints are not serious. Certainly one letter (p. xxii) is misdated. A question arises at once: how was rapid and successful communication possible between Pulaski and his colleagues? If his infrequent English was difficult, certainly his French was often incomprehensible. His letters are interesting and revealing. "I am a Republican whom the love of glory and the honor of supporting the liberty of Union drew hither"; and shortly before the defeat at Egg Harbor: "I blush tho to find myself languishing in a state of inactivity"; two months later he laments that he came to America to fight the British, but finds himself sent to Minisink, "an exile from which even the savages have fled and there remains nothing to fight but bears". Important is his long letter to Congress, dated August 19, 1779: he recounts his services to America and complains about various slanders and ill treatment, ". . . but I am inclined to believe that enthusiasm for liberty is not the predominate virtue in America at this time . . . nothing less than my honor which I will never forfeit retains me in a service which ill treatment makes me begin to abhor . . . ". Pulaski has been the subject of monuments, orations, banquets, and compilations; when will he become the subject of a well-written biography or historical novel?

New York University. FRANK MONAGHAN.

Francis Dana: a Puritan Diplomat at the Court of Catherine the Great. By W. P. Cresson. (New York, Dial Press, 1930, pp. xv, 397, $5.00.) The value of this book consists of selections from the Dana Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society, together with Dana material from the Adams Papers. Much of this has not been printed previously. It indicates that John Adams's suspicions of the disinterestedness of French diplomacy in the period from 1780 to 1783 were strengthened by the letters which he received from Francis Dana during

the latter's ungraceful and ineffective mission at the Court of Catherine II., letters which reflected Vergennes's instructions to the French minister at that court not to assist the American diplomatist's efforts for recognition. The real reason for these directions is not fathomed. The influence on Adams does not appear in F. P. Renaut's French study of the Dana mission. About this new material the author has constructed a biography of uneven quality and modernistic phraseology. The typography, and the presentation of the bibliography, leave something to be desired. There are numerous, obvious, small errors.

George Washington University. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

Anti-Slavery Sentiment in American Literature prior to 1865. By Lorenzo Dow Turner, Ph.D., Professor of English, Fisk University. (Washington, D. C., the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1929, pp. viii, 188, $2.15.) This study by Dr. Turner of antislavery literature is a survey of the novels, poems, plays, essays, pamphlets, magazine and newspaper articles, orations, letters, and travel descriptions which bear upon the development of antislavery sentiment in America. Beginning with the colonial writings of Puritans, of whom John Eliot and Cotton Mather are types, and the early writings of Quakers, like John Woolman and Anthony Benezet, the author guides the reader through the maze of published literature on antislavery topics to the close of the Civil War. His purpose is "to discover the extent to which anti-slavery sentiment found expression in American literature prior to 1865, to trace the growth of this sentiment, to ascertain its nature, and to indicate the extent to which it was influenced by the spirit of the time in which it appeared". The volume is divided chronologically into five periods and the material for each of these is grouped somewhat arbitrarily under four heads: Moral and Religious Arguments, Sentimental Arguments, Social and Economic Arguments, Plans for the Emancipation of the Slave.

The political and economic aspects of the slavery question, and biographical approaches, have been the objects of frequent study in the past, but this survey calls attention anew to the literary aspects of the subject which have been hitherto unexploited in special studies. The bibliography of Dr. Turner's book contains a section entitled "Biographies and Autobiographies" but the author omits reference to the large number of biographies and autobiographies written by escaped slaves, of which the following are examples: Henry Bibb, *Memoirs of a Fugitive Slave,* Solomon Northrup, *Twelve Years a Slave,* Mattie Griffith, *Autobiography of a Female Slave,* Father Henson, *Story of his Life*—the latter is supposed to be the prototype for Uncle Tom—or S. R. Ward, *Autobiography of a Fugitive Slave.* Antislavery organizations encouraged the publication of these stories of slave life by negroes who had been slaves and these literary efforts made up a large part of the propaganda against slavery. A significant body of antislavery sentiment may

be found in the newspapers of the time. Particular mention should have been made of the New York *Tribune* for the years 1850–1860. In this decade the circulation of this paper increased five-fold and it was an effective and popular instrument of the antislavery cause.

Howard University. CHARLES H. WESLEY.

Slavery Agitation in Virginia, 1829–1832. By Theodore M. Whitfield, Ph.D. [Awarded the Mrs. Simon Baruch University Prize for 1929.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1930, pp. viii, 162, $1.75.) This volume has as its aim the delineation of events and circumstances that led to the rise of a very favorable antislavery movement in Virginia, climaxed by the debates in the general assembly of 1831–1832. Thousands crowded into Virginia's capitol to hear the impassioned arraignment and the brilliant defense of slavery. Few abolitionists ever equaled the convincing manner in which James McDowell, afterwards governor of the state, presented the misfortunes that would ensue from the demoralizing slave system. Yet this group, with the acknowledged conviction of the needed removal of the slavery menace, disagreed upon an effectual means of emancipation, to become later the uncompromising defenders of the institution it had earlier condemned.

For the general reader this book will merit attention as a chapter in the slavery struggle of Virginia, but for the student of history it offers nothing new. In spite of the title, the author has confined his study too much to the action of the legislative body and failed to consider many forces that were molding public sentiment. A real contribution might have resulted had more extensive use been made of the unprinted correspondence of contemporary Virginia leaders, numerous volumes of pamphlets, newspapers, church and county histories, and biographies of local importance. The closing chapter is unsatisfactory in that it is largely devoted to the contentions of Rhoderick Dew in 1832, rather than to the conclusions of the author himself to whom the lapse of a hundred years affords an unbiased perspective.

Birmingham-Southern College. WALTER B. POSEY.

Jeb Stuart. By John W. Thomason, jr., Captain, the U. S. Marine Corps. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930, pp. xiv, 512, $5.00.) Jeb Stuart, with Lee, Jackson, Longstreet, and the rest, was one of that galaxy of gallant, hard-fighting, praying soldiers of the Southern Confederacy that will always arrest the eye and the imagination. It is of this romantic and picturesque figure that Captain Thomason, a soldier, experienced writer, and grandson of a Confederate officer, writes in one of the most interesting military biographies of the Confederacy. He tells the whole fascinating story from the student days at West Point to that May day in 1864 when Stuart was mortally wounded at Yellow Tavern.

At Chancellorsville Lee had lost his right arm; at Yellow Tavern he lost the man who had been his ever-observant eyes. Throughout the

book, Stuart's spirit of subordination to Lee, as the master, is emphasized, yet, strangely, the author does not quote Lee's fine tribute to Stuart, "second to none in valour, in zeal, and in unflinching devotion to his country. . . . To military capacity of a high order and to the nobler virtues of a soldier he added the brighter graces of a pure life, guided and sustained by the Christian's faith and hope."

Though this is a book based on a thorough study of the printed source material with collateral use of unpublished letters and papers of the Stuart family, probably because this was intended to be a narrative biography of Jeb Stuart, there is no discussion of the tactical use of cavalry. Nor is there any consideration of its functions as affected by increased fire power, due to the improvement of guns and ammunition, and by its use dismounted. Likewise there is no study of the problems of organization, personnel, horse supply, forage, etc.

The Civil War ushered in a new technique in the handling and use of cavalry; Stuart, as much as any other cavalry leader, was responsible for this new development. Until his time, cavalry had been used, primarily, as an adjunct to the main army, scouting and guarding the flanks and rear. Stuart enlarged its function and the field of its activity, by developing old ideas and initiating many new methods. Because this is not a technical study of cavalry operations, Forrest, Stuart's peer in the West, who was evolving a similar technique, with modifications conditioned on local situations and his relation to the field armies in that section, is hardly mentioned. No comparison is made of the methods and leadership of these two dashing and original Southern cavalry leaders. From the student's viewpoint this omission is a distinct disappointment. By leaving out some of the detail in the book a discussion of the service of supply and of munitions, as it affected the cavalry, as well as some remarks on the new technique, could have been included without unduly extending the narrative.

Great Neck, New York. THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

An American Epoch: Southern Portraiture in the National Picture. By Howard W. Odum. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1930, pp. xi, 379, $3.50.) This volume is historical only in part. The author has used two real or imaginary characters, "Uncle John" and "the Major", as types of the men who, in 1865, took up the task of rebuilding a ruined Southern civilization. The one represents the common white man of the old order who constituted its backbone but never became articulate; the other, the lesser aristocracy, ever on the make, who, when glorified by fact and fiction, has become the accepted expression of the ante bellum South. By the ingenious method of relating the experiences of these men and their children after them, unity is given to a series of distinct pictures of the "New South" in the process of formation.

The historian will be interested in this volume primarily for the keen comment of a contemporary on the scene of which he is a part. He has

succeeded better than most writers on this theme, but the shortcomings about him are too real to allow emotions always to remain in their place. The clear understanding of conditions as the product of history and environment does not lessen the irritation at "small folks" who must be lived with. The South comes off a bit worse and the North a bit better than either deserves.

The University of Chicago. AVERY O. CRAVEN.

The Santa Fe Trail. By R. L. Duffus. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1930, pp. xi, 283, $5.00.) This is the first book to mention or discuss most of the major aspects of the Santa Fé Trail. It is a semi-popular account and a companion to Ghent, *The Road to Oregon.* Written in the style of a journalist, and occasionally in that of a novelist, it should prove entertaining to many interested in the history of the West. It is constructed largely of the most available secondary materials, though it is also based upon some of the published sources. To the general reader, who is primarily interested in the broad lines of a picture, this book will seem a faithful reproduction of a fascinating subject; but to the student of history, who is especially concerned with the finer lines, it will appear a less perfect likeness.

Mr. Duffus tells the story of the Santa Fé Trail from the journey of Coronado in 1541 to the entrance of the first railway train into Santa Fé in 1880. About four-fifths of the book is devoted to the period before 1848. Although the author has achieved his purpose and "put together material which has heretofore been scattered", he has not handled his material with that deftness and care which would have made his finished product a contribution to historical knowledge. Errors of a major and minor character are scattered throughout the work. Some of them are due to haste, others to carelessness, but most to an inadequate knowledge of the subject. In quoting source material obtained from secondary works, the author should give credit to the secondary works; otherwise the impression is left that Mr. Duffus himself went to the sources. The index is inadequate, and the bibliography abounds in inaccurate titles of books and articles. The illustrations are good and well chosen.

Washington University. RALPH P. BIEBER.

That Man Debs and his Life Work. By Floy Ruth Painter, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in Ball State Teachers College. (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1929, pp. 209, $2.19.) Few men of recent times have lived fuller lives than Eugene V. Debs. As a boy and young man he fired a railway locomotive, worked in a wholesale grocery establishment, served as city clerk of Terre Haute, Indiana, sat in the state legislature, and began his career as a labor organizer. The greatest of his early dreams was the American Railway Union into which he hoped to draw all railway employees, whatever the work they did. With this dream at least in part come true he fought through to successful conclu-

sions battles with the Union Pacific and the Great Northern, but failed when he intervened in the Pullman strike, largely because the President of the United States willed it so. Out of this affair he emerged with a jail sentence, and a slant on life that speedily made him the leading American Socialist. Four successive times, beginning in 1900, he was the candidate of his party for the Presidency and during all these years he stumped the country for his cause, wrote articles for Socialist papers, and made himself generally obnoxious to supporters of the capitalistic order. The entrance of the United States into the World War flung a new challenge at him, one which he accepted fearlessly, though his courage cost him a ten year sentence to prison. As a convict he ran again for the Presidency in 1920, and as a pardoned ex-convict he spent his few remaining years in an effort to rehabilitate his war-shattered party.

Here are the high-lights about which an entrancing book could be written, and undoubtedly will be written. The slender volume under review, however, does not attempt to give a nicely balanced story of Debs's career. Chapter I., constituting the first third of the book, is devoted almost entirely to an account of the Pullman strike and events immediately surrounding it. Chapter II. is a succession of presidential campaigns and socialist platforms; chapter III.—by all odds the best of the lot—tells in straightforward fashion the dramatic story of Debs and the war; chapter IV. consists of some amiable observations on the personality and opinions of Debs. Quotations abound throughout, altogether too many of them from secondary authorities, including some from college textbooks. Sweeping generalities, such as "every student of history knows", "had given his all", "unstinting service to humanity", recur rather too frequently. All of which, together with sundry other minor sins, would easily be forgiven if only the author could have made Debs live for us in the pages of her book. This she has utterly failed to do, but by assembling many important facts and citing carefully her evidence, she has greatly facilitated the work of some future biographer who, we hope, will wield a more trenchant pen.

The University of Nebraska. JOHN D. HICKS.

The Trans-Mississippi West: Papers read at a Conference held at the University of Colorado, June 18–June 21, 1929. Edited by James F. Willard and Colin B. Goodykoontz. (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1930, pp. xi, 366, $2.00.) This collection of sixteen papers, by as many different authors, is an imposing one, whether judged from the point of view of the period of time or the range of subjects covered. Beginning with a discussion of the Spanish Borderlands, the journey through the centuries concludes with a consideration of comparatively recent developments on the Great Plains. The subjects vary from Protestant Home Missions in the West to Historical Geography and the Western Frontier, from Hand Cart Migration across the Plains to The American Picaresque: a By-Product of the Frontier.

It would be incorrect, however, to assume that there are not elements of unity running through the seeming diversity of the volume. There is, of course, a general thematic unity about the papers, they are more or less pitched to the same key, and are saturated with the spirit of the frontier. Then, too, a topical grouping of several of the subjects has a unifying effect. Nine of the papers fall under the three headings of Western Missions, Western Transportation, and The Western American Literature.

Probably the most substantial contribution to the history of the Trans-Mississippi West to be found in the volume is Walter P. Webb's The Great Plains and the Industrial Revolution. Professor Webb shows us the inadequacy of previous frontier tools, technique, and institutions to the conquest of the Great Plains, and points out how the occupation of the region was delayed pending the development of new tools, such as the six-shooter, barbed wire fence, the windmill and "big machinery" suited to large scale farming.

Clark University. JAMES B. HEDGES.

The Centennial History of the Tennessee State Medical Association, 1830–1930. Edited by Philip M. Hamer, Professor of History in the University of Tennessee. (Nashville, Tennessee State Medical Association, 1930, pp. 580, $3.00.) Just as frontier democracy reduced politics to the level of "common man", so early Western medical manuals reduced "the practice of medicine to principles of common sense"—another way of saying much the same thing. Political and medical science suffered a similar fate on the frontier. Now when medicine is reduced to common sense, it is high time that the doctors should do something about it. Professor Hamer, in several well-organized chapters, tells us what they did in Tennessee.

It is a story of the early organization of a State Medical Association, and of the subsequent struggle to preserve the society and achieve its ends. These aims were, primarily, the advancement of science, the suppression of quackery, and the creation of standards in the education and licensing of practitioners. Such was the ignorance and indifference of the laity, and even of many medical men, that little was accomplished during the decades preceding the Civil War. Following 1865 there was reorganization and rapid development, with a reaping of what the ante bellum years had sown.

The history of a state medical association is readily expanded into a general history of medicine in the given state. Hence Professor Hamer's work is followed by several chapters written by physicians and relating, respectively, to the technical history of medicine, the development of medical education, the care of the insane, and the story of the state health organization.

Duke University. RICHARD H. SHRYOCK.

The Range Cattle Industry. By Edward Everett Dale. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1930, pp. xvii, 216, $4.00.) Nine chapters with an introduction and twenty-five illustrations and maps describe the range industry from about 1865 to the present time. A description of Texas at the close of the Civil War is followed by one on the central and northern plains. After explaining the northern drives the author treats the ranching in the northern plains to 1900. Two chapters deal with Texas, the Southwest, and Oklahoma, another with the range and the corn belt, and the last chapter is entitled The Dawn of a New Day.

The book is statistical and descriptive rather than narrative and the author leans heavily on Federal and state documents and census reports. Geographical factors are treated with fullness and detail and the relations of the industry with the government and with the Indians is developed with abundant data. The Range Cattle Industry in Oklahoma is the outstanding contribution of the volume and the reviewer wishes that the excellent account of the competing frontiers of the Indian, the cattlemen, and the settlers could have been much expanded. "Oklahoma was one of the last of the agricultural states to contain large areas devoted exclusively to grazing. Moreover, it presents perhaps the best example in our history of the changing of considerable regions from one form of agriculture to another by government action."

The author is generally recording results and effects rather than processes. One misses adequate accounts of cattle associations, of the routine of ranching, of great cattle companies, and of the early financing of ranches. Government officials rather than managers and foremen, and census takers rather than participants tell the story. And so the odors from branding, the trail dust, mutinous cowboys, the rollicking life, and the mournful losses from storms and mismanagement are lacking.

Maps, diagrams, and pictures illuminate and brighten the text. Binding, paper, format, and printing are a credit to the author and his press. The author did not use the minutes of the Wyoming Stockgrowers Association and seems not to have exploited the XIT manuscripts of the Panhandle Plains Historical Society of Canyon, Texas. Both index and bibliography are helpful tools.

The State University of Iowa. LOUIS PELZER.

Responsible Government in Nova Scotia: a Study of the Constitutional Beginnings of the British Commonwealth. By W. Ross Livingston, Ph.D. [University of Iowa Studies. Studies in the Social Sciences, volume IX., no. 1.] (Iowa City, Iowa University Press, 1930, pp. 280, $2.00.) This study in the constitutional origins of the second British Empire is very timely. The concession of self-government to the Canadian pre-confederation provinces was correctly analyzed by Lord John Russell as far back as 1839 as amounting to a virtual grant of independence. It is only since the war, however—or more exactly, since 1926—that the virtuality is coming to be openly recognized. The impor-

tance of Nova Scotia as the first provincial unit in the British commonwealth to be granted self-government has heretofore been strangely overlooked. It is the virtue of the present study by Dr. Livingston both to point out the priority and importance of the local struggle in Nova Scotia in the constitutional development of the British commonwealth, and also to trace that struggle through its various phases between the election of Howe to the assembly in 1837, the year of the Canadian Rebellion, and the establishment of the first responsible party ministry in a British colony in 1848. The work is in considerable measure a study in comparative politics. Perhaps the most penetrating contribution in this respect is the illuminating comparison of the party issue in Nova Scotia with that between Hamiltonian Federalism and Jeffersonian Democracy in the United States; a similar comparison is made with the "Rump" Parliament of Cromwell. The study quite naturally centers in large, but not disproportionate measure, around the work of Joseph Howe. In justice, Howe should long before now have been granted equal place with Durham, Buller, and Wakefield as authors of the present Dominion Commonwealth idea.

The Howe papers at the Canadian archives and most of the colonial office state papers have never heretofore been adequately used. The clarity of presentation and lively, readable style serve but to make more attractive Dr. Livingston's thorough scholarship. There are, however, slips in proof reading, particularly in footnote references. Sir Brenton Halliburton rather than "Sam Slick", the humorist and historian, was the judge at Howe's libel trial (p. 49). Noticeably absent from the bibliography are the scholarly study of T. C. Haliburton by Dr. Chittick, and the life of Howe by G. M. Grant (1875), which is undoubtedly the most penetrating biography of Howe ever written.

The University of Pennsylvania. AUSTIN E. HUTCHESON.

A Literary History of the Arabs. By Reynold A. Nicholson, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A., Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic and Fellow of Trinity College in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press, New York, Macmillan Company, 1930, second edition, pp. xxxi, 506, $7.00.) From a publishers' point of view this is really the fourth edition of this standard work. The second and third were unaltered, and this fourth is still from the original plates. But a few pages have been rewritten, the bibliography has been brought up to date, and a six-page appendix of corrections and supplementary matter has been added. The result is a thoroughly sound introduction and textbook. That a fourth edition has thus been reached of a book on such a subject speaks for itself. And it may be added that there is no other book in any language on the subject that can even remotely compete with it. It is safely one of the half-dozen books on the Moslem civilization that are essential.

Hartford Theological Seminary. D. B. MACDONALD.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1929 contains in addition to the proceedings of the Council, and of the Association, reports of committees, the treasurer's report, etc., the Sixteenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, made up of the Correspondence addressed to John C. Calhoun, edited by Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks.

The *Proceedings* of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, 1929, a substantial volume, contains the record of the twenty-fifth annual meeting, held at the University of Oregon on December 28 and 29, 1929, with all the papers presented except one.

The committee of the American Historical Association in charge of the Albert J. Beveridge Fund will soon send to press a volume of editorials on the secession movement, gathered from Southern newspapers and edited by Dr. Dwight L. Dumond, assistant professor of American history in the University of Michigan. The fact that this volume is in the line of the late Senator Beveridge's own interest makes it particularly fitting as the initial publication of the contemplated Beveridge Fund series. Other volumes are under present consideration. The policy of the committee is to promote the editing of documentary collections in the field of American history by grants-in-aid to young scholars, and to publish the approved results. The income available will presumably cover the costs of one or two substantial volumes per year. Any suitable projects will be welcomed by the committee. They should be submitted to the chairman, Professor Ulrich B. Phillips of Yale University.

Dr. Phoebe A. Heath, who has been editorial assistant on this *Review* since October 1, was appointed Assistant Editor by the Board of Editors at its meeting in Boston on December 29.

PERSONAL

On January 18 a tragical accident in the streets of Washington caused the death, at the age of 60, of Dr. Allen Johnson, editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography*. After seven years' historical teaching in Iowa (Grinnell) College, 1898–1905, and five years in Bowdoin, 1905–1910, he was professor of American history in Yale University from 1910 to 1926, when he resigned to assume charge of the *Dictionary*. He published in 1908 a volume on Stephen A. Douglas, in 1926 a stimulating book of methodology, *The Historian and Historical Evidence*, and in his later years at Yale edited with great intelligence and ability the fifty volumes of the series called Chronicles of America. Of the

twenty volumes of the *Dictionary of American Biography* six volumes have been published under his editorial care, but his preparatory work had extended far toward the end of the alphabet. Ideally qualified for the task, he conducted the editing of the *Dictionary* with catholic appreciation of what it should include, with enterprise, vigor, method, taste, and broad scholarship. Personally he was a gentleman of high character and wide cultivation, interesting, genial, attractive, and lovable.

Edward Channing, teacher of history in Harvard University since 1883, professor since 1897, one of the founders of the American Historical Association and its president in 1920, died on January 7, at the age of 74. A faithful and vigorous teacher, dealing especially with the colonial and Revolutionary periods of United States history, he trained a multitude of students in the application to that history of his own high and exacting standards, and was their steady friend ever after. Aside from a widely-used textbook, his *Student's History of the United States* (1898), his literary product consisted almost entirely in one extensive and highly important work, a *History of the United States*, planned to cover the whole story in eight volumes. The first volume appeared in 1895, the sixth in 1925. Volume VII. had reached an advanced stage, but is still so far from completion that it will not be published. The merits widely recognized in this monumental work lie in the thoroughness of the author's researches, his constant use and recognition of special monographs preceding, the determined fairness with which he strove to emancipate himself from Bostonian prepossessions, his sturdy independence, and, especially in the later volumes, a freshness of view which led him, disregarding traditional valuations, to place his emphasis on the things that seemed to him really significant.

Albert Pierce Taylor, librarian of the Archives of Hawaii, died on January 12, at the age of 58. He was at first more interested in making events than in the quieter task of classifying and filing their records, for he had taken part in the Cuban insurrection, had been secretary of the Hawaiian Annexation Commission, and had served with the American forces in the Philippines. He was secretary of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

John William Burgess, founder of the School of Political Science at Columbia University, died on January 13, at the age of 86. He served two years in the Union Army and was graduated from Amherst College in 1867. After two years as a teacher in Knox College, and the study of history, public law, and political science in German universities, he returned to Amherst in 1873 as professor of history and political economy. In 1876 he was called to Columbia, and four years later he persuaded the trustees to create a School of Political Science where studies closely related could be carried on together. Last year the fiftieth anniversary of that School was celebrated and in Burgess's honor a chair of political science was named for him. He was the first Roosevelt Professor of

American History and Institutions at the University of Berlin (1906–1907). He was a prolific writer. Among his works are: *The Middle Period of United States History* (1897), *The Civil War and the Constitution* (1901), and *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law* (1890–1891).

Frank Hayward Severance, for twenty-eight years secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society, died at Buffalo on January 26, at the age of 74. He was especially interested in the history of the Niagara frontier. Among his books are: *Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier* (1899), *Studies of the Niagara Frontier* (1911), and *An Old Frontier of France* (2 vols., 1917). As a member of the American Historical Association he took a leading part in the yearly conferences of historical societies.

Ruth Putnam, a distinguished historian, died on February 13, at the age of 74. She was the daughter of George Palmer Putnam, founder of the publishing house of G. P. Putnam's Sons. She was graduated from Cornell University in the class of 1878, and was a trustee of that university for a decade. Among her numerous writings are: *William the Silent* (1894), *Charles the Bold* (1908), *Alsace and Lorraine* (1915), *Luxembourg and her Neighbors* (1918), and the *Life and Letters of Mary Putnam Jacobi* (1925).

Adam Shortt, C.M.G., since 1917 chairman of the Board of Historical Publications maintained by the Canadian government, died at Ottawa on January 14, at the age of 71. He was a professor of political science in Queen's University from 1889 to 1908, civil service commissioner to the Dominion from 1908 to 1917. He published in 1908 a volume on Lord Sydenham in the Makers of Canada series, but his most important historical services lay in two important editorial works, each in two volumes, *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada* (edited jointly with Dr. A. G. Doughty), and his masterly collection of *Documents relating to Canadian Currency, Exchange, and Finance during the French Period.*

Joseph Robson Tanner, the English historian, died on December 16, at the age of 70. He was one of the editors of the *Cambridge Medieval History* and the principal authority on Samuel Pepys as well as the editor of his naval papers and correspondence. His most recent work, *Tudor Documents*, volume II., is soon to be reviewed in this journal.

Alfred Percival Maudslay, well known for his researches in the archæology of Yucatan and Central America, died on January 23, at the age of 80.

Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, founder in 1894 of the *Revue Hispanique*, and its editor since that time, died on June 3 last, at the age of 65. Jean Brunhes, the distinguished disciple of Vidal de la Blache, and author of the two volumes on the *Géographie Humaine de la France*, which form the introduction to the monumental *Histoire de la Nation Française*,

directed by M. Hanotaux, died on August 25, at the age of 61. Robert Parisot, professor in the University of Nancy, author of the most comprehensive history of Lorraine, died on November 2, at the age of 70.

Bernhard Duhr, S.J., died on September 21, at the age of 78. He is best known for his *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern Deutscher Zunge*. The final volume was reviewed in the last number of this journal.

August Heisenberg, a leading Byzantine scholar, director of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, and professor at the University of Munich, died in November, at the age of 61. He had taken an active part in the Congress of Byzantine Studies at Athens last October.

Kristian Erslev, the Danish historian and archivist, died on June 20, in his seventy-ninth year. Dr. Erslev was professor of history in the University of Copenhagen from 1883 to 1916, when he took a position in the national archives. In 1913 he was placed in charge of the Carlsberg fund, which is used to assist in financing various kinds of scientific work in Denmark. His field was primarily the history of Denmark in the later Middle Ages, to the literature of which he contributed a series of important studies.

Under the auspices of the Berlin Institut für Altertumskunde, addresses in memory of the late Eduard Meyer were delivered on December 7 at the university, by Professor Ulrich Wilcken and Professor Werner Jaeger. Dr. Wilcken spoke on Meyer's scientific work while Dr. Jaeger described his personality. These addresses have now been published and the frontispiece reproduces a portrait of the distinguished scholar by Lovis Corinth (Berlin, J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, pp. 31, 1.20 M.).

Announcement is made of the appointment of visiting professors for the summer sessions of the following universities: *Alabama*, Louis B. Schmidt; *British Columbia*, A. L. Burt; *California*, William C. Binkley, Clarence J. DuFour, Ralph H. Lutz, James Westfall Thompson; *California at Los Angeles*, David S. Muzzey; *Southern California*, I. J. Cox, E. M. Hulme; *Chicago*, R. D. W. Connor, M. E. Curti, W. K. Ferguson, J. C. Patterson, David H. Willson; *Colorado*, LeRoy R. Hafen, J. Fred Rippy, Alfred H. Sweet; *Columbia*, Robert G. Caldwell, William E. Lingelbach, Sydney K. Mitchell, Roy F. Nichols, William A. Oldfather, Nathaniel Schmidt, Preston W. Slosson; *Cornell*, Horace Kidger; *Duke*, W. H. Callcott; *Harvard*, Samuel F. Bemis, J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, Roland D. Hussey; *Hawaii*, Leland H. Creer; *Johns Hopkins*, Lowell J. Ragatz; *Iowa*, Paul H. Giddens, C. E. Payne; *Michigan*, E. A. Adair, Eugene H. Byrne, Thomas M. Marshall; *Missouri*, Harold C. Deutsch, Fred A. Shannon, D. O. Wagner; *Northwestern*, G. G. Benjamin, St. George L. Sioussat; *Ohio*, E. Merton Coulter, F. S. Rodkey, W. T. Utter; *Oregon* (at Eugene), Edward P. Cheyney, Frederic C. Church, (at Portland), Francis A. Herrick, Joseph Schafer; *South Carolina*, C. H. Karraker, R. H. Taylor; *Stanford*, Henri Grégoire, C. P. Higby, W.

T. Root; *Virginia*, Early Lee Fox, C. C. Pearson; *Washington* (state), Thomas A. Bailey, Joseph Ellison, Daniel C. Harvey; *George Washington*, Carl C. Rister; *Western Reserve*, Donald G. Barnes; and at the *College of William and Mary*, P. S. Flippin.

The following promotions are noted: *University of Chicago*, Marshall M. Knappen to be assistant professor; *University of Michigan*, L. G. Vander Velde to be assistant professor; *Northwestern University*, Arthur G. Terry to be professor; *Smith College*, Vera L. Brown, Merle E. Curti, H. U. Faulkner, and S. R. Packard to be professors, Leona C. Gabel to be associate professor, and Jean S. Wilson to be assistant professor.

Dr. Phillipe de Vargas, associate professor of Church history in the University of Yenching, is visiting lecturer in Harvard University during the current semester.

Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton has been associate professor of Education in New York University since the beginning of the current academic year.

Professor T. J. Wertenbaker, of Princeton University, is to lecture at Göttingen during the spring and summer sessions on the Development of American Civilization and the Transit of English Civilization to America. In exchange Professor Herbert Kraus is to lecture at Princeton during the first term of next year.

Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt is to lecture during the year 1931-1932 at the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales in Geneva. His place in the University of Chicago is to be taken by Professor T. W. Riker, of the University of Texas, who will also act as editor of the *Journal of Modern History*.

Count Carlo Sforza, Italian statesman and diplomatist, will be visiting Carnegie professor at the State University of Iowa during part of the current semester. He will give a series of public lectures on recent European diplomatic affairs.

Mr. Godfrey Davies has resigned his position as assistant professor of English history in the University of Chicago to accept an appointment on the permanent research staff of the Huntington Library. He will be engaged also in editorial work connected with the publications of the Library. Professor Louis B. Wright, of the University of North Carolina, will be visiting scholar at the Huntington Library for the year beginning September 1, 1931.

Professor Louis M. Sears, of Purdue University, will present courses in American diplomatic history during the spring quarter, March 31–June 10, at Stanford University.

Prince André Lobanov-Rostovsky, of the École Libre des Sciences Politiques at Paris, has been appointed lecturer in Russian history in the University of California at Los Angeles. He will offer courses in the summer session.

Professor Charles Raymond Beazley, the distinguished historian of *Modern Geography* and holder of the chair of Mediaeval and Modern history at the University of Birmingham, received a knighthood in the New Year honors.

GENERAL

General review: E. Buonaiuti, *Studi di Storia della Chiesa* (N. Riv. Stor., July–Oct.).[1]

The Library of Congress has issued a third list of *Noteworthy Maps* compiled by Lawrence Martin and Clara Egli (Government Printing Office, pp. 33).

The American Council of Learned Societies held its twelfth annual meeting in New York City on January 30 and 31. Only a few days before a tragic accident had deprived the Council of a most valued collaborator, Dr. Allen Johnson, editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography*. One of the first acts of the members was to express their sense of bereavement and their feeling of the value of Dr. Johnson's work in resolutions offered by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson. These resolutions, referring to the considerations which led to the original choice of Dr. Johnson as editor, said that he brought to the task a "well-furnished and cultivated mind, large knowledge of American history and biography, experience, ripe judgment, literary taste, and a fixed determination that the highest practicable standards of accuracy, truthfulness, and just portraiture should be maintained". Dr. Jameson added that the "praises which, from all quarters, have been bestowed upon the five volumes thus far published, show how well his ambitions for the *Dictionary* have been realized". The Council felt that they were under deep obligation to Dr. Johnson not only for what he had done himself but for the care he had taken to see that the work should be carried to successful completion even if illness should make it impossible for him to go on to the conclusion of the task. Two years ago at his suggestion a co-editor, Dr. Dumas Malone, was chosen by the Committee of Management. To Dr. Malone's broad training as a scholar and a writer was added the experience of eighteen months of work with Dr. Johnson, in hourly consultation with him on the countless problems and questions which came up for consideration. Dr. Malone was placed in charge of certain sections of the *Dictionary*, and, during Dr. Johnson's absences, assumed full editorial responsibility. Convinced of the wisdom of what was in effect Dr. Johnson's own choice of a successor, the Committee of Management elected Dr. Malone to be editor-in-chief. Dr. Harris E. Starr is to continue as associate editor.

At the same meeting the Council voted to continue the projects begun last year: the study of the English government at work during a decade of the fourteenth century, the *Bibliography of American Travel*, the

[1] The date of publication of books and articles mentioned in the section of Historical News is 1930 unless otherwise stated.

completion of Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, the glossary of *Medieval Italian Terms of Business*. It will also continue its contribution to the expenses of the excavations at Samaria. It will provide assistance in the preparation of a classified list of the Latin translations of Aristotle, with a view to the editing of a *corpus* of such translations as an indispensable means of studying the influence of Aristotle upon medieval scientific and philosophical thought. Among the new undertakings is a grant to the American Antiquarian Society to assist in the publication of the eleventh volume of the *American Bibliography* of Charles Evans, in which are listed in chronological order all books, pamphlets, and broadsides published in the present United States from 1639 to 1800. The volume in question belongs to the years 1796–1797. Small grants were made to the American Historical Association to aid in preparing an historical and descriptive bibliography of the press in the United States as an instrument in forming public opinion, and, further, in drawing up a systematic program of research in the various fields of history. A grant to the Mediaeval Academy of America enables it to carry forward a four-year study of the relations between the English government and the papacy up to the time of the Protestant Reformation. The work is to be done by a group of American and British scholars under the direction of Professor W. E. Lunt, of Haverford College.

The Joint Committee on Research Materials, set up by the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, is making progress with its formidable task of reviewing the entire establishment of libraries, historical societies, research institutes, museums, and archives as if it were one vast national enterprise committed to a common purpose of providing materials for research. Part of this work has long engaged the attention of other committees or commissions. For example, the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association has for many years been occupied with the survey of state and local archives. The Joint Committee, of which Robert C. Binkley, of Western Reserve University, is secretary, is now primarily concerned to discover where duplication occurs, what sort of materials are neglected in the work of collection, and what materials are liable to early destruction because made of poor paper. It has been noted that little effort has been made to collect records of the informal activities of party leaders. Perhaps this is embarrassed by the common adoption of Mr. Blaine's well-known precept, "Don't write, send a man". Another more serious omission is that of records important from the standpoint of business history. The question of duplication of effort touches incidentally the fact that libraries and historical societies have a natural ambition to make their own collections as interesting as possible and some of them feel no warm enthusiasm for being enregimented. As collection proceeds and gathers momentum there is also danger that the world will not hold the assembled material, and Professor N. S. B. Gras

has submitted to the Joint Committee a Memorandum on the Destruction of Documents, believing that "destruction is the necessary correlative to preservation", for always on the horizon is the local or state budget and the taxpayer who may decline to double the capacity of libraries every twenty years.

The date of the Anglo-American Historical Conference is to be July 13 to 18. This is the third of a quinquennial series held under the auspices of the University of London at the Institute of Historical Research. Seven sectional meetings have already been scheduled, one being a section on American history. The secretary of the conference is Mr. Guy Parsloe, who may be addressed at the Institute of Historical Research, London, W. C. 1.

According to the preliminary announcement of the Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences, to be held in Warsaw from August 21 to 28, 1933, the Polish Society of History has appointed an organizing committee of which its president, Professor Stanislaw Zakrzewski, of the University of Lwów, is chairman, and Dr. Tadeusz Manteuffel, of the University of Warsaw, secretary. American history will be dealt with in section 5, "Modern and contemporary history", with the exception that the history of colonization in America, when so treated that the emphasis is upon colonizing activity, rather than upon the internal history of the colonies, will be dealt with in another section. The omission of a section on American history is due in part to the fact that at both Brussels and Oslo the isolation of this subject was found to be a serious disadvantage, resulting in very small audiences and in conflicts of schedule, and, in part, to the fact that the American members of the International Committee have recommended that American history be treated as an integral phase and part of Modern history. It is probable, however, that special sessions of section 5 will be devoted to American history. Historians in the United States who expect to attend the congress, and who desire to contribute to the program, must submit their contributions to the Council of the American Historical Association for transmittal to the international organizing committee. All suggestions or proposals respecting contributions should be addressed, at an early date, to the Secretary of the American Historical Association, 40 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C. Inquiries in regard to the congress should be addressed to Dr. Waldo G. Leland, American member of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, 907 Fifteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology will take place in London from Monday, June 29, to Friday, July 3, 1931, with the Science Museum, South Kensington, as its headquarters. The Congress originated with the Comité International d'Histoire des Sciences. The committee has been fortunate in enlisting the coöperation of its parent body, the Comité International des Sciences Historiques, together with that of two other international societies, the

History of Science Society, Washington, D. C., and the Newcomen Society for the Study of the History of Engineering and Technology, London. Further particulars can be obtained from the Honorary Secretary of the Congress, H. W. Dickinson, the Science Museum, South Kensington, London, S.W. 7.

The preliminary results of two inquiries conducted under the auspices of the International Committee of Historical Sciences are reported in the December *Bulletin* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France). The first touches the organization in the several countries of historians and historical studies, whether by committees, associations, institutes, or academies. Professor Pollard gives an especially full account of the Institute of Historical Research connected with the University of London. The second inquiry explains what is being done in bibliographical research. The *Bulletin* also includes partial results in the case of another project, that of lists of diplomatic agents. Lists are printed for the bishopric of Liége under the old régime, for Chile, and for Greece.

The eleventh annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, held at Boston concurrently with the meeting of the American Historical Association, was in every respect the most successful in its history. The registration numbered over 300. Five sessions were held, at which thirteen papers were read. The presidential address of Professor F. J. Tschan, of Pennsylvania State College, was a scholarly study of Helmold, Chronicler of the North Saxon Missions. The secretary's report showed a substantial increase of members, the state of the treasury allowed a further investment of $2000, and the various committees reported real progress in the association's activities. The executive council authorized the creation of an advisory board to coöperate with the editors of the *Catholic Historical Review*, and nominated the following officers who were elected for 1931: president, Professor C. J. H. Hayes, Columbia University; first vice president, Dr. James F. Kenney, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa; second vice president, Rev. James F. Reardon, Minneapolis; secretary, Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, Catholic University of America; assistant secretary, Rev. Dr. George B. Stratemeier, O.P., Washington; treasurer, Rt. Rev. Mgr. C. F. Thomas, Washington; archivist, Miss Josephine Lyon, Washington. Members of the executive council are: Rev. Dr. Peter L. Johnson, St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee; Rev. Francis S. Betten, S.J., Marquette University; Rev. Dr. Robert H. Lord, St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass.; Dr. James J. Walsh, New York; and Leo F. Stock, Carnegie Institution of Washington. L. F. S.

The opening essay in the *Catholic Historical Review* for January is the presidential address delivered at Boston before the American Catholic Historical Association by Dr. Francis J. Tschan. The other two papers are: St. Irenaeus and the See of Rome, by Professor Michael O'Boyle, of St. Mary's College, Galway, and Peter Martyr d'Anghiera: Humanist and Historian, by Dr. Theodore Maynard.

The *Catholic Encyclopedia* is to undergo a revision which implies a virtual rewriting, with the addition of about 3000 new articles. The new edition will be in fifteen volumes including the index.

The current numbers of *The Historical Outlook* continue the publication of an annotated translation by Joseph Strayer and Ruth McMurry of the reports of the Commission on History Teaching appointed by the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Among other articles of interest are: in the February number, A Study in the Intellectual Life of Colonial America, by Alfred P. James, and The Young Kaiser, by Sir C. Raymond Beazley.

In the *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* for January 15, Professor N. S. B. Gras, of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, under the title of Les Affaires et l'Histoire des Affaires, discusses the field of business history, pointing out in what it differs from that of economic history. This discussion appeared in part in the *Bulletin* of the Harvard Business School Alumni Association in February, 1930.

Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis, with the collaboration of Miss Grace Gardner Griffin, is preparing a *Guide to the Study of the Diplomatic History of the United States for Students and Investigators*, with the coöperation of the Social Science Research Council.

An essay on "Legitime" und "Illegitime" Geschichtsschreibung, by Wilhelm Mommsen, professor in the University of Marburg, which appeared last October in *Zeitwende*, has now been republished for a wider circle by Oldenbourg (Munich and Berlin, pp. 21). It states with clarity the points in the controversy between Ludwig and *Fachhistorie*.

Rational Evolution, by Robert Briffault (New York, Macmillan, pp. 302, $3.50), deals with the same theme as *The Making of Humanity*, which was published in 1919, but the work has been completely rewritten.

The Bronze Age, by V. Gordon Childe, professor of prehistoric archæology in the University of Edinburgh (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, pp. 256, 8 s. 6 d.), is an admirably organized handbook, well illustrated, showing how great has been the progress of scholars in advancing our knowledge of an age which lies on the confines of historical time.

In the series called Philosophie und Geschichte, Dr. Kurt Borries, of Tübingen, discusses the *Grenzen und Aufgaben der Geschichte als Wissenschaft* (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, pp. 40, 1.50 M.).

The Secretariat of the League of Nations has presented a review of its work under the title of *Ten Years of World Co-operation* (Geneva, the Secretariat; Boston, World Peace Foundation, pp. xi, 467, $3.50). It is not a defense nor a history, but, as Sir Eric Drummond says in his foreword, simply a record. As a record certain of its statements bear the character of historical opinion; for example, the analysis in the

chapter on the Mandates System of the causes of the Syrian upheaval. The chapters which possess most immediate interest are this chapter, that on Intellectual Co-operation, and that on the Saar Territory and the Free City of Danzig.

The 1931 edition of the very useful *Political Handbook of the World*, edited for the Council of Foreign Relations by Walter H. Mallory (New Haven, Yale University Press: New York, Council of Foreign Relations, 1931, pp. 200, $2.50), has added a section on the League of Nations. It will be recalled that under the name of each country are listed the ruler, the prime minister, the party make-up of the parliament, with brief statements of political programs, and the principal newspapers with their editors.

A Systematic Source Book of Rural Sociology, edited by Pitirim A. Sorokin, Professor of Sociology, Harvard University, Carle C. Zimmerman, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Minnesota, and Charles J. Galpin, of the United States Department of Agriculture (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, pp. xx, 645), is the first of three volumes which aim through introductions, digests, selections, and statistical tables to furnish a systematic treatise embodying the theories and conclusions held by scientific men the world over, in Europe and Asia as well as America. This volume deals first with the history of rural sociological theory and the characteristics of the farmer-peasant class from the ancient Orient to the end of the eighteenth century, passing then to the details of social organization in rural communities. The authors wisely emphasize need of comparative study in such problems, of taking account of situations and of experience in other countries than our own.

A new volume in Payot's Bibliothèque Scientifique deals with *Les Tsiganes* (Paris, Payot, pp. 397, 40 fr.). The author is Professor C. J. Popp Serboianu, of the Seminary of Blaj, in Roumania. In the historical part of his volume he discusses various theories of the origin of the gypsies and describes their spread in Europe, especially in Roumania. The remainder of the volume is a grammar and dictionary of their language, together with selections from their poetry. An extensive bibliography is appended.

Articles: Justus Hashagen, *Ueber die Wissenschaftliche Bedeutung der Parteigeschichte* (Zeit. für die Gesamte Staatswiss., XC. 1); P. Polman, *Flacius Illyricus, Historien de l'Église* [author of the Magdeburg Centuries, 1559–1574] (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés., Jan. 1931).

ANCIENT HISTORY

For reports of recent excavations and discoveries one may note in *Antiquity* for December Oscar Reuter's review of recent discoveries in Persia, and Professor Schaeffer's account of the excavations at Minet el Beida and at Ras Shamra in northern Syria. These are also described

in the *Illustrated London News* for November 29, with pictures of various finds, including a dictionary of the second millennium B.C. In the same journal (Jan. 10) are described a patrician treasure chest found in Pompeii which compares with the famous Boscoreale treasure (Jan. 17), the excavations at Jericho, and (Jan. 24) a further account by Mr. Woolley of the burial place of the kings of Ur. Further news from Greece is given by E.P.B. in News Items from Athens, *American Journal of Archaeology* for December.

Friedrich Wilhelm König's *Geschichte Elams* is Heft 4 of vol. XXIX. of *Der Alte Orient* (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1931, pp. 38, 1.60 M.).

A review of the recent additions to our knowledge of the ancient geography of the lands and peoples of Southwestern Europe is given by J. Weiss (*Geograph. Jahrb.* XLIII. 135). *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* presents a handy review of books and articles published between July, 1929, and July, 1930. In Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 230, J. Mesk gives a review of the literature on Xenophon, 1925–1929.

Professor La Rue Van Hook's *Greek Life and Thought: a Portrayal of Greek Civilization* (New York, Columbia University Press, pp. xiv, 331, $2.50), of which the first edition was reviewed in this journal (XXIX. 589), has proved so serviceable that it has reached a third printing. The author has taken the opportunity to make minor changes and to add to his bibliographical list.

Two essays which deal with ancient political ideas may be noted. *Reichsgedanken in Altertum*, by W. Judeich (Jena, 1930), is a brief general treatment of the growth of the notion of empire among the Greeks and the Romans. W. W. How, in Cicero's Ideal in his *De Re Publica* (*Jour. of Rom. Studies, 1930, 1*), supports the view that Cicero's *princeps* was not intended to hold such a position as Augustus later had, but to be an unofficial leader such as Scipio had been, or as he himself became against Antony. To these two may be added R. Heinze's appreciation of the Emperor Augustus, in *Hermes* for October, which brings the work of a distinguished scholar to a close.

In *Economic History* for January, A. Andréadès discusses the capital levy or *eisphora* in ancient Athens. He points out that it was not levied in primitive times or in periods of prosperity, and that when levied in times of stress, such as the Peloponnesian War, the burden fell on the wealthier classes. These, however, were precisely the ones whose income was otherwise lessened by the burdens of the trierarchy, and the ruin of agriculture and commerce. A hitherto unpublished inscription of Gortyn, now published by M. Guarducci in the *Rivista di Filologia* for December, which shows that the town of Gortyn and its dependency, Kaudos, both paid a regular tithe to the Apollo Pythios of the town of Gortyn, is interpreted by G. de Sanctis in the same issue as showing that this free city by the beginning of the third century B.C. had arrived

at a method of raising a regular revenue tax directly from its citizens. Tenney Frank, in Roman Census Statistics from 508–225 B.C. (*Am. Jour. of Philol.*, Dec.), argues that if we grant that before 332 B.C. the Roman census included all *capita libera*, and after that date only adult males, the numbers for the period 508–225 B.C. agree with established historical data. In The Imperial Finances of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan (*Jour. of Rom. Studies*, 1930, 1), R. Syme seeks to rehabilitate the reputation of Domitian as a wise and careful ruler, and to shift the charge of extravagance upon his successors, Nerva and Trajan.

In an attractively bound and printed little book, *Esquisse d'Histoire Romaine* (Paris, Alcan, 1931), M. André Piganiol has compressed a great deal of information regarding the political, social, economic, literary, and artistic development of Rome from the earliest times to the barbarian invasions. Naturally, in a review of this kind the author tends to avoid controversial questions, and contents himself with a warning "perhaps" when facts fail him. He is inclined to be conservative in his views, *e.g.*, he favors the view (p. 48) that the earliest treaty between Rome and Carthage dates only from 348 B.C. A number of prints and plans and a short bibliography complete a well-organized but elementary textbook.

Articles to be noted: G. Contenau, *L'Exploration Archéologique de l'Asie Occidentale et la Collaboration Américaine* [summary of excavations, 1923–1930] (Jour. des Sav., Nov.); *Die Kulturelle, Literarische, und Religiöse Entwicklung des Israelitischen Volkes in der Älteren Königszeit* (Sitbz. d. Berl. Akad., 1930); N. C. Debevoise, *Parthian Problems* (Am. Jour. of Sem. Lang., Jan.); H. G. Williams, *The Political Mission of Gorgias to Athens in 427 B.C.* (Class. Quar., Jan.); W. Kolbe, *Die Kleon-Schatzung des Jahres 425–424* (Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad., 1930); A. Momigliano, *Il Nuovo Philisto e Tucidide* (Riv. di Filol., Dec.); R. Flacelière, *Les Rapports de l'Aitolie et de la Béotie au III^e Siècle avant J.C.* (Bull. de Corr. Hellén., 1930, 1); W. W. Tarn, *The Date of Milet I., 3, no. 139* (Hermes, Oct.); F. Schachermeyr, *Die Römisch-Punischen Verträge* (Rhein. Museum, 79, 4); Günther Klaffenbach, *Die Zeit des Ætolisch-Akarnanischen Bündnisvertrages* (Klio, XXIV. 2); M. Holleaux, *Le Consul Fulvius et le Siège de Samé* (Bull. de Corr. Hellén., 1930, 1); J. A. Davison, *Cicero and the Lex Gabinia* (Class. Rev., Dec.); J. G. Milne, *The Roman Regulation of Exchange Values in Egypt* (Jour. of Egypt. Arch., Nov.); C. E. Van Sickle, *Particularism in the Roman Empire during the Military Anarchy* (Am. Jour. of Philol., Dec.); Roberto Andreotti, *L'Opera Legislativa ed Amministrativa dell' Imperatore Giuliano* (N. Riv. Stor., July); N. H. Baynes, *Some Aspects of Byzantine Civilization* (Jour. of Rom. Studies, 1930, 1).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: Louis Bréhier, *Histoire Byzantine: Publications des Années 1926–1930* (Rev. Hist., Nov.).

Among the articles in *Speculum* for January are: The First Wall of the Rhenish Episcopal Cities, by Ernest Lauer; an interesting letter of Advice from a Physician to his Sons, contributed by Lynn Thorndike, and The *Repetitio:* and a *Repetitio*, in which Caro Lynn adds to our knowledge concerning the custom of public recitations in the universities of the fifteenth century and incidentally to that of the popularity of the classical authors at Salamanca. Among the reviews may be noted: the new edition of Bémont's *Simon de Montfort*, by J. F. Willard, the fourth and last volume of Finke's *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, by G. C. Powers, Rose Graham's *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, by Peter Guilday.

A new series entitled Makers of the Middle Ages is being planned in England by Constable. The "Makers" will include significant institutions as well as individuals. Professor A. Hamilton Thompson will contribute a study on *The See of York*. The first of the series will be *Frederick II., 1194–1250*, by a German historian Ernst Kantorowicz. Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard University, is to prepare a volume on *Boethius*.

Dr. Martin Grabmann's *Die Grundgedanken des Heiligen Augustinus über Seele und Gott* has appeared in a new edition (Cologne, J. P. Bachem, 1929, pp. 111, 6.50 M.). This belongs to the series, Rüstzeug der Gegenwart, a collection of religious, philosophical, and apologetic discussions.

Index Interpolationum quae in Iustiniani Digestis inesse dicuntur, volume I. and supplement (Weimar, H. Böhlaus, 1929, 20 M., and 8 M.) is a remarkable example of the advantage of coöperative work. It was inaugurated by the late Professor Mitteis more than 20 years ago and has been carried on by about a score of competent workers. The continuance of the work has been made possible by assistance from the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft and from the academies of Berlin, Leipzig, and Vienna. These parts are edited by Levy and Rabel. It is unnecessary to add anything about the value of the work for students of law, philology, and history.

Professor O. Gradenwitz, in *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti nach den Grundsätzen der Pandektenkritik* (Weimar, H. Böhlaus, 1929, 4 M.), attempts to prove that St. Benedict changed and added to the original rule in many ways as the result of his experience. For example, Gradenwitz argues that the office of *praepositus* was not in existence at the time when the rule was first written. This pamphlet is a very interesting example of the possibilities of applying *Pandektenkritik* to such documents.

Among the pamphlets put forth in advance from the *Proceedings* of the British Academy (London, Humphrey Milford) the most recent is a paper by Professor D. S. Margoliouth, on the *Book of Religion and Empire* (Kitab ad-Din wa'd-Daulat) by Ali b. Rabban al-Tabari, a ninth

century treatise in support of Mohammedanism, by one who had originally been a Christian; the paper casts light on the theology of such converts.

Professor Richard Scholz has published an edition of *Aegidius Romanus de Ecclesiastica Potestate* (Weimar, H. Böhlaus, 1929, 16 M.). The importance of this treatise for theologians, historians, and jurists has long been recognized, ever since Scholz gave the full digest of it in his *Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen* (1903). In the meantime, an edition was published in 1908 by Boffito and Oxilia, but only an imperfect one as Scholz points out. Since the time when he used this material for his *Publizistik*, six other manuscripts have been discovered and Scholz makes the four best the basis for this edition.

In the Modern Student's Library, Scribner has published *Selections from Medieval Philosophers*, volume II., by R. P. McKeon (New York, Scribners, $1.25), which includes an excellent introduction and well-chosen selections from Roger Bacon, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, Matthew of Aquasparta, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham.

Articles: J. Sporl, *Das Alte und das Neue im Mittelalter* (Hist. Jahrb., Bd. L., Heft 3); P. de Labriolle, *La Polémique Antichrétienne de l'Empereur Julien* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Oct.); F. Martroye, *La Répression de la Magie et le Culte des Gentils au IV^e Siècle* (Rev. Hist. de Droit Fr. et Étranger, Oct.); W. von Steinen, *Heilige als Hagiographen* (Hist. Zeitsch., Bd. CXLIII., Heft 3); François Halkin, *L'Histoire Lausiaque et les Vies Grecques de S. Pachôme* [founder of monasticism] (An. Boll., XLVIII. 3–4); Paul Deschamps, *L'Art Mérovingien et Carolingien* (Jour. des Sav., Nov.); Raffaello Morghen, *Le Relazioni del Monastero Sublacense col Papato, la Feudalità e il Comune nell' Alto Medio Evo* [10th–12th centuries] (Archivio della R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Patria, LI. 3–4); P. Souty, *Les Prisonniers des Guerres Privées aux XI^e et XII^e Siècles* (Rev. des Études Hist., Oct.); P. Schram, *Die Ordines der Mittelalterlichen Kaiserkrönung* (Archiv. für Urkundenf., Bd. XI., Heft 3); Ernst Klebel, *Studien zu den Fassungen und Handschriften des Schwabenspiegels* (Mitteil. des Oesterreich. Inst. für Geschichtsf., Bd. XLIV., Heft. 2, 3); Matilde Uhlirz, *Studien zu Gerbert von Aurillac* (Archiv. für Urkundenf., Bd. XI., Heft 3); Michel Le Grand, *Le Chapitre Cathédral de Langres: les Fonctions Spirituelles du Chapitre 'sede vacante'*, cont'd (Rev. d'Hist. de l'Église de France, July); J. B. Monnoyeur, *Gerson, l'Auteur de l'Imitation* (Études Francis., Jan. 1931); H. Matrod, *Voyageur et Missionnaire: François Suriano, O.F.M., 1450–1530* (*ibid.*).

D. C. M., G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The *Journal of Modern History* for March opens with an article by Curtis Nettels on England and the Spanish American Trade, 1680–1715. Dwight E. Lee writes on The Proposed Mediterranean League

of 1878, and Thomas A. Bailey on Japan's Protest against the Annexation of Hawaii, an article which may well be read in connection with Professor Bailey's article in this number of the *Review*. The bibliographical study is by E. A. Beller, and deals with Recent Studies on the Thirty Years' War. Godfrey Davies contributes eight Documents illustrating the First Civil War, 1642–1645. The Austro-Hungarian Diplomatic Documents are reviewed by O. H. Wedel.

To the Bibliothèque de Philosophie Scientifique has been added a volume on *Interprétation du Monde Moderne*, by Maurice Simart, with a preface by Ferdinand Brunot (Paris, Flammarion, pp. 296, 12 fr.).

The third volume of the *Répertoire Bibliographique de l'Histoire de France*, covering the years 1924 and 1925, edited by Pierre Caron and Henri Stein, has been issued by Auguste Picard (pp. xxxi, 420, 80 fr.).

Vol. II. of Corrado Barbagallo's book, *Le Origini della Grande Industria Contemporanea* deals with the years 1750–1850 (Perugia, Nuova Italia, pp. 411). This distinguished scholar points out how American development was furthered by independence and the succeeding naval wars, how Italy was held back by its political divisions preventing the formation of a great domestic market prior to the Napoleonic period, how the growth of transportation and population and the maintenance of international peace together with inventions stimulated large scale industry from 1815 to 1850. Important chapters deal with England, France, Germany, and Italy during these decades.

Professor Fay's *Origins of the World War* has been translated into French by M. C. Jacob and published by Rieder.

The *Genesis of the World War*, by Harry Elmer Barnes, has appeared in a French edition, *La Genèse de la Guerre Mondiale* (Paris, Marcel Rivière, pp. xxiv, 555, 30 fr.), with a foreword by Georges Demartial, and a special preface in which the author defends himself against the charge of being anti-French in sympathies.

It is fortunate that the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill's four volumes on the World War and the situation which led to it are now available, somewhat abridged, in a single volume with the original title, *The World Crisis* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931, pp. xii, 866, $5.00). The author explains that he has "pruned a mass of technical detail and some personal justifications which do not seem so important to me now as they did ten years ago". Revision has also enabled him to take account of what has been written since the publication of the original volumes. The author's official position as First Lord of the Admiralty during the critical years of 1911–1915, and his qualities as an observer, must give this work a permanent place in the literature of the struggle.

Two lectures of Dr. H. E. Enthoven at the University of Leyden in February and December, 1930, entitled *De Val van Delcassé* and *Het Verdrag van Björkö*, deal with the crisis of 1905 and the Kaiser's

famous intrigue with the Czar Nicholas (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, pp. 26, 21).

The second volume of that part of the British *Official History of the Great War* which, as its subtitle indicates, deals with the *Military Operations in Egypt and Palestine*, from June, 1917, to the close of the struggle, begins at the moment when General Allenby takes command. Its chief interest comes from the history of the effort to break the Gaza-Beersheba line and the advance upon Jerusalem. The author, Captain Cyril Falls, explains that his aim has been to produce an account which will serve as a "compromise between the needs of the Staff College student and those of the general public". It is generally agreed that he has been uncommonly successful (H. M. Stationery Office, £1, case of maps, 10 s.).

Commandant Muller, *officier d'ordonnance* of General Joffre, on the basis of notes taken from day to day, now publishes his account of *Joffre et la Marne* (Paris, Crès, 20 fr.). He wrote it after the close of the war but in deference to the wishes of Marshal Joffre, who desired to remain aloof from polemics, publication was deferred.

Under the title of *De la Guerre Totale à la Paix Mutilée* (Paris, Alcan, pp. 365, 15 fr.), Senator Henri Lémery has published the speeches he delivered at the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate from 1917 to 1930. Only three belong to the period of the war. M. Lémery is a severe critic of much that has been attempted in the liquidation of the great struggle. His principal grief is that the Rhine has been evacuated without the establishment of such a joint control in the demilitarized zone as to make it forever an area of peace, rendering another war between the two neighbors impossible.

The tragic story of the attempt to force the Dardanelles is told from the diary of a French officer in a small volume entitled *A Bord du Cuirassé "Gaulois", Dardanelles-Salonique, 1915–1916* (Paris, Payot, pp. 175, 18 fr.), which belongs to the Collection de Mémoires, Études, et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale. The second part deals with the quieter days that followed during the Bivouac de Lemnos. The account is illustrated by twenty-eight photographs taken by the author.

M. F. Cambo in *Les Dictatures* (Paris, Alcan, pp. xix, 210, 15 fr.) essays to discover the generic causes of this widespread phenomenon. One means is the presentation of statistical tables showing that, in general, peoples under such régimes are at the top of tables of illiteracy and mortality and at the bottom of tables of foreign commerce and the dispatch of letters. One of his most penetrating remarks is that in none of the countries where dictatorship is set up have the citizens been wont to fulfill the duties inherent in a democratic régime. Another phase of the same subject is dealt with in *Le Fascisme et l'Antifascisme en Italie*, by M. Rocca, former member of the Italian parliament (Paris, Alcan, pp. vi, 215, 15 fr.).

Articles: Contre-Amiral Castex, *Les Positions et les Bases dans la Guerre Navale* [sixteenth century to present] (Rev. des Sci. Pol., Oct.); Joseph Koulischer, *La Grande Industrie aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles: France, Allemagne, Russie* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Jan. 15, 1931); Gh. de Boom, *L'Occupation des Pays du Bas-Rhin pendant la Guerre de Sept Ans* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Nov.); Alfred Stern, *Ein Russisch-Französischer Bündnisplan, 1858* (Eur. Gespr., Jan. 1931); Paul Ostwald, *Russlands Weg in das Lager der Entente* (*ibid.*, Dec.); Eduard Ritter von Steinitz, *Berchtolds Politik zu Beginn der Balkankrise, 1912* [on the basis of the new Austrian collection] (Berl. Monatshft., Jan. 1931); Gustav von Hubka, *Kritische Tage in Montenegro* [recollections of the Austro-Hungarian military attaché, 1912–1914] (*ibid.*); Gunther Frantz, *Die Wiederherstellung Polens im Rahmen der Russischen Kriegsziele* (*ibid.*, Dec.); Paul Henri Michel, *L'Amérique Espagnole et la Guerre*, I. (Rev. d'Hist. de la Guerre Mondiale, Oct.); Edmond Delage, *La Tragédie des Dardanelles*, I., II. (Rev. de Paris, Dec. 15, Jan. 1).

GREAT BRITAIN

In the *English Historical Review* for January, Professor James Tait continues his studies of medieval towns in an article entitled The Common Council of the Borough, and Sir Richard Lodge deals with a new phase of eighteenth century diplomacy in part I. of an essay on Lord Hyndford's Embassy to Russia, 1744–1749. Another article, which seeks to correct a commonly accepted view, has the title Queen Elizabeth, the Sea Beggars, and the Capture of Brille, 1572. The author, Professor J. B. Black, presents much positive evidence to show that Queen Elizabeth had forced the sea rover La Marck to leave Dover before he had matured his plan of an attack on Brille. Professor Black also endeavors to show that the evidence upon which the idea of her collusion in the scheme has been based was *ex post facto* and rather flimsy.

Among the contents of the January *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library, of Manchester, are three groups of documents. The first group, coming in part from Rylands Latin MS. 404, a fourteenth century register of Edward III.'s reign, illustrates the opening years of the Hundred Years' War. These documents are edited by Frederick Bock. The second documentary selection is from the Kirkstall Chronicle, 1355–1400, edited by M. V. Clarke and N. Denholme-Young. The third is made up of Unpublished Correspondence of the Rev. Richard Baxter and the Rev. John Eliot, "the Apostle to the American Indians", 1656–1682, and F. W. Powicke is the editor.

The Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture delivered before the British Academy in 1929 was an address on *Wales and Archaeology* by R. E. M. Wheeler (London, Humphrey Milford).

Vol. XIII. of the fourth series of the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society (pp. 287) contains matter of more than usual interest.

Sir Richard Lodge's presidential address is on Machiavelli's purpose and motives in writing his *Prince*. Herbert Wood, formerly deputy keeper of the Public Records of Ireland, gives a valuable paper on those records, their unhappy destruction in 1922, and what remains (transcripts mostly). G. H. White discourses of King Stephen's Earldoms, Donald Smith of School Life in Medieval Finland (practically, in Viborg from 1570 to 1670). Miss Irene A. Wright, of Seville, contributes an important account of the Spanish Resistance to the English Occupation of Jamaica, 1655–1660, from the copious materials in the Archives of the Indies. A. A. Ettinger gives the history, from both American and European diplomatic archives, of the Proposed Anglo-Franco-American Treaty of 1852 to guarantee Cuba to Spain. B. R. Leftwich gives that of English customs administration from 1671 to 1814, G. S. Veitch that of the Liskeard elections of 1802 and 1804.

Vol. XII. of the publications of the Oxfordshire Record Society contains *The Feet of Fines for Oxfordshire, 1195–1291*, transcribed and calendared by Rev. H. E. Salter (Oxford, the Society, pp. xi, 282). Mr. Salter wisely explains in his preface that "fines" were not amercements, but settlements which put a finis to a controversy, and that "feet" were the duplicate records at the foot of the sheet which was preserved at Westminster. The parties to the controversy had the upper or head records, which were identical with the foot. Because these "feet" at Westminster protected all interests it became the custom to have friendly suits where actual controversies did not occur when changes of property took place. There is a detailed index of thirty pages listing all names referred to in these records. Mr. Salter hopes that some volunteer will continue a work upon which he has been engaged off and on for twenty years, for the fines especially of the fifteenth century "are often found very useful for family history".

Sir John Fortescue has published the first volume of *The Royal Army Service Corps: a History of Transport and Supply in the British Army* (R. A. S. C., Deptford; Cambridge University Press, £1 1 s.).

Zimmermann's Captain Cook, translated by Elsa Michaelis and Cecil French, edited by His Honour F. W. Howay (Toronto, Ryerson Press, pp. xiv, 120, $5.00), belongs to the series of Canadian Historical Studies, of which the general editor is Lorne Pierce. It supplements *The Meares-Dixon Controversy* in the same series and by the same author. Zimmermann's journal is one of three surreptitiously published before the official account in 1784, although all officers and members of the crew were under pledge to surrender any diaries they had kept in order to prevent such an event. Zimmermann seems to have escaped detection at the time by merely jotting down "in abbreviated German the outstanding events of the journey". These he could develop after he went ashore. The first edition of his account was published in Mannheim in 1781, and strangely enough it was not translated into English until five years ago, when it appeared as a bulletin of the Alexander Turnbull

Library in New Zealand. Facsimiles of the Mannheim title-page and of that of a later edition at Berne are given. Several charts still in manuscript are also reproduced. The general editor is justified in calling so excellent an edition "definitive".

The biography of *William Gifford, Tory Satirist, Critic, and Editor*, by Roy Benjamin Clark (New York, Columbia University Press, pp. 294, $3.00), is of interest to the historian chiefly because of its chapters on *The Anti-Jacobin* and *The Quarterly Review*, of which Gifford was editor. In his earlier enterprise the author says that Gifford's chief instruments were "indignation and abuse", and his special department was that marked "Lies, Misrepresentations, and Mistakes". His work for *The Quarterly* was, of course, on a higher level.

American precedents twice influenced constitution making in France, in 1789 and in 1848. It was natural that they should have a still greater influence with the makers of the Australian constitution. To determine the measure of this influence is the aim of *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, by Erling M. Hunt (New York, Columbia University Press, pp. 286, $4.50). The author's task has been rendered more difficult because Australian writers on the constitution or the few biographies which deal with the period have little to say of these influences.

The Cradle Days of Natal, by Graham Mackeurtan (New York, Longmans, Green, pp. xii, 348, $6.00), is a tale of the early settlers and traders of Natal, their dealings with those renowned and sinister Zulu chieftains, Tshaka and Dingana, of troubles with Boer "Voortrekkers", and eventual annexation by the British government in 1845. There is a final chapter on the Americans in Natal, according to which it appears that the missionaries sent out by the American Board in 1834 were looked upon by some as "merely a cloak for American commercial and political aggression".

The Jameson Raid which has been treated incidentally to biographies of Rhodes and Jameson, and as a part of Sir Percy Fitz-Patrick's *The Transvaal from Within*, has now found an historian in Colonel Hugh Marshall Hole who concentrates attention upon the raid itself—*The Jameson Raid* (London, Philip Allan, pp. 306, 15 s.). Colonel Hole bases his work upon evidence long known, but draws also upon the recollections of members of the raiding column like Sir Edward Garraway.

On the Watson Chair Foundation of the Sulgrave Manor Board a course of six lectures was given in March at the University of London by Professor George Gordon, of Magdalen College, Oxford, on the Literary Relations, Past and Present, of England and the United States.

Dr. Alfred Vagts has added a seventh to his series of characterizations of Staatsmänner und Diplomaten (*Eur. Gespr.*, Nov.). This time his subject is Lord D'Abernon, and his treatment is based on the D'Abernon *Diary*.

The announcement by Hodder and Stoughton that the third and fourth volumes of Lady Gwendolyn Cecil's *Life of Robert Marquis of Salisbury* are soon to appear will arouse a lively expectation that answers will now be given to certain questions long in suspense.

Articles: Luigi Villari, *La Posizione della Monarchia nella Bretagna* [evolution since 1701] (N. Antol., Nov. 16); Mario Pigli, *Il Nazionalismo Egiziano e l'Inghilterra* [survey of period since occupation of Egypt] (*ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1931).

FRANCE

General review: Hedwig Hintze, *Die Französische Revolution: Neue Forschungen und Darstellungen* (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLIII. 2).

The *Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique, Celtique et Gallo-Romaine* of Joseph Déchelette has reached vol. V., *Archéologie Gallo-Romaine*, part I., *Généralités: Travaux Militaires*, by Albert Grenier, of the University of Strasbourg, with a preface by Camille Jullian, of the French Academy (Paris, Picard, pp. 620, 232 illustrations, maps, 75 fr.).

The second fascicle of *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1886 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de la France de 1500 à 1789*, edited by E. Saulnier and A. Martin, has been issued by the Presses Universitaires de France (pp. 148, 40 fr.).

M. H. Prentout, the distinguished historian of Norman affairs, has published two essays entitled *Études sur Quelques Points de l'Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant* (Caen, Ch. Le Tendre, pp. 25, 30). The first deals with the date at which the Truce of God was proclaimed in Normandy. This he finds to be 1047. To it is appended a discussion of the *Hamfara*, one of the acts by which the peace was violated. His second essay is concerned with the marriage of William.

A new volume in the series Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age, published under the general editorship of Louis Halphen, is *Richer, Histoire de France, 888–995* (vol. I., *888–954*), edited by Robert Latouche, "Maitre de Conférences" at the University of Grenoble (Paris, Honoré Champion, pp. xvii, 303, 25 fr.). As in other volumes of the series, the text and translation appear on parallel pages. The text is taken from the sole extant manuscript, supposed to be that of Richer himself. Where he has made corrections these appear in the text, while the original words are given in the notes. There is a brief critical introduction.

The famous "Trouée de Belfort" has been studied from the geographical point of view in *La Porte de Bourgogne et d'Alsace* by André Gibert (Paris, Colin, 1931, pp. xiv, 638, 92 illustrations and plates, 80 fr.).

The fifth centenary of the death of Joan of Arc is to be commemorated at Rouen on May 25 to 29 at an historical, literary, and artistic congress. Those who desire to take part may communicate with M. Ernest Marais, municipal councilor at the Hôtel de Ville of Rouen.

The extent to which Lefèvre d'Étaples and the pre-Calvinistic French Reformation were influenced by Lutheranism is well set forth by I. W. G. Moore in a thesis for the *doctorat d'Université* at Strasbourg, entitled *La Réforme Allemande et la Littérature Française: Recherches sur la Notoriété de Luther en France* (Strasbourg, Faculté des Lettres, fasc. 52, pp. 514, 50 fr.).

The *Bulletin* of the Société du Protestantisme Français for September contains an account of the dedication of the Calvin Memorial at Noyon, the *Maison de Calvin*, the house where he was born, reconstructed upon the ruins left by the Great War.

A *Table Générale Analytique et Table des Appendices* has now been added to the forty-one volumes of the *Saint-Simon Mémoires* in the series of Grands Écrivains de la France (Paris, Hachette, 2 vols., 45 fr. each).

M. Pierre Caron has published in the *Révolution Française*, numbers for July and October, two installments of the Registre des Dépenses Secrètes du Conseil Exécutif Provisoire, which M. Aulard did not include in his *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public*.

A new series, entitled Les Classiques de la Révolution Française, of which the general editor is Professor Albert Mathiez, has been initiated with Arthur Young's *Voyages en France*, translated and edited in three volumes by M. Henri Sée (Paris, Colin, 160 fr.). Two other works in the series are to be *Le Vieux Cordelier* of Camille Desmoulins, edited by M. Mathiez, and the *Correspondance et Journal de Philippe Égalité*, edited by Amédée Britsch.

A new volume by Professor Albert Mathiez on the Revolution is a group of *Études d'Histoire Révolutionnaire: Girondins et Montagnards* (Paris, Didot, pp. viii, 307, 30 fr.). There are chapters on the two parties above mentioned, on Vergniaud and Robespierre, the Club de la Réunion, the constitution of 1793, the Ventôse decrees, the causes of Robespierre's fall, three letters of Voulland, the trial of one Legray, the corruption of Danton, and other matters.

A minute study of the *Histoire Religieuse du Département du Nord pendant la Révolution, 1789–1802*, is being made by J. Peter and Ch. Poulet. Volume I., *De la Fin de l'Ancien Régime au 9 Thermidor An II.*, is now published (Lille, Facultés Catholiques, pp. xii, 412, 50 fr.). From their investigations it appears, for instance, that 1057 out of 1247 ecclesiastics refused the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy; at least 353 of the Constitutionalist clergy renounced their order under the Terror.

The *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* has published in its October, November, and December numbers a French translation of an instructive essay by Professor Gellio Cassi on a little-known part of Napoleon's domain. The title is Les Populations Juliennes-Illyriennes pendant la Domination Napoléonienne.

Professor Louis Trotabas, of the law faculty of the University of Nancy, has contributed a volume in the Colin series on the *Constitution et Gouvernement de la France* (Paris, Colin, pp. 213, 10 fr. 50). It is primarily descriptive, but the first chapter gives a brief historical introduction.

Early in this century the initials C. G. T. (Confédération Générale du Travail) had an ominous sound in *bourgeois* ears, but the last two decades have brought a change. The causes of the change, the influence of the World War, the Russian Revolution, possibly also the abundant opportunities of work in post-war France, give interest to *A History of the French Labor Movement, 1910–1928*, by Marjorie Ruth Clark, associate research professor, University of Nebraska (University of California Publications in Economics, vol. VIII., no. 1, pp. 74).

Articles: Jacques Laurent, *Le Bailliage de Sens du XIII^e^ au XVIII^e^ Siècle, Étude de Géographie Administrative* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Oct.); F. Lot, *La Conquête du Pays d'Entre Seine-et-Loire par les Francs* (Rev. Hist., Nov.); Paul Jeulin, *Notes sur l'Enseignement au Collège de l'Oratoire de Nantes à la Fin du XVIII^e^ Siècle* [celebrated school attended by Fouché] (An. de Bret., XXXIX. 1); P. Mautouchet, *La Vie à Paris sous la Terreur* (Rév. Fr., July, Oct.); F. Lacombe, *Le Club des Sans-culottes de Paulhan (Hérault)*, I. (*ibid.*, Oct.); Paul Leuilliot, *L'Émigration Alsacienne sous l'Empire et au Début de la Restauration* [caused by agricultural distress, overpopulation, strict forest administration, etc.; greatest from Wissembourg region; directed chiefly toward Russia (Crimea) but also United States] (Rev. Hist., Nov.); Marquis de Noailles, ed., *Chateaubriand: Lettres au Comte Molé* (Rev. des D. M., Feb. 1); F. Ponteil, *Un Rapport de Police sur l'État des Esprits à Marseille après les Troubles de Juin, 1848* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Nov.).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

A very valuable assemblage of source material for the commercial relations of France and the Netherlands, especially from the end of the thirteenth to the sixteenth century inclusive, has been made by Z. W. Sneller and W. S. Unger, under title of *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Handel met Frankrijk*, part I., *753–1585* (The Hague, Nijhoff, pp. xv, 726). The work, which is a publication of the Ministry of Public Instruction, Arts and Sciences, contains 935 documents in French, Dutch, and Latin, drawn not only from French and Dutch national archives, but also from those of Dutch, Flemish, and Hanseatic cities. Some have been published before, but even these are scattered and often little known.

The centenary of Belgian independence is the occasion for a volume describing *La Province de Namur, 1830–1930*, stressing the administrative, financial, and particularly the economic aspects of the subject. It is a coöperative undertaking of the Provincial Council, led by Max de Wasseige (Namur, Wesmael-Charlier, pp. 367).

The making of the ill-assorted match which was broken up in 1830 is described in G. J. Renier's *Great Britain and the Establishment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, 1813–1815* (London, Allen and Unwin, pp. 360, 18 s.).

In his *History of the Flemish Movement in Belgium* (New York, Richard R. Smith, pp. vii, 316, $3.00), Dr. Shepard B. Clough satisfies many curiosities which date back at least to the World War. Until the German efforts to take advantage of the *Flamingant* movement few realized that such tendencies existed, although it was well known that the Belgians were divided linguistically into Flemings and Walloons and that a pronounced linguistic line of demarcation ran through the country. The author studies the beginnings of the movement, devoting five chapters to the period before 1914. Its present characteristics he has examined on the spot.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Work on the *Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch* (*Wörterbuch der Älteren Deutschen Rechtssprache*), carried forward by the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, has been resumed after a long interval. The third Heft of vol. I. has now been issued (Weimar, Hermann Böhlaus, pp. 322–479, 15 M.). This section covers the words from *Abtriebs-gerechtigkeit* to *aller'schwerst*. At the same time there has been published a *Quellen-Ergänzungsheft* (pp. 89* to 110*, 5 M.).

Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Schiedsgerichtswesens in Deutschland, by Hermann Krause (Berlin, Heymann, pp. viii, 122), is the winning essay in a contest undertaken at the suggestion of the American Arbitration Association, in view of the practical importance now attaching to this method of settling private legal controversies.

A useful introduction to the historical sources and historiography of modern Germany will be furnished by Franz Schnabel's *Deutschlands Geschichtliche Quellen und Darstellungen in der Neuzeit*, to embrace three or four volumes. Vol. I., *Das Zeitalter der Reformation*, is now ready (Leipzig, Teubner).

Vol. IV. of a work of great erudition, the *Regesta Episcoporum Constantiensium*, begun more than a quarter of a century ago, has been published. It deals with the *Regesten zur Geschichte der Bischöfe von Constanz von Bubulcus bis Thomas Berlower, 1436–1474* (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1928–1930, pp. 456) and is the work of K. Rieder.

In *Berichte und Studien zur Geschichte Karls V.*, by Professor Karl Brandi, of Göttingen (Berlin, Weidmann, pp. 44), the author gives a survey of the archival studies made by past writers on Charles V., and of previous and present plans for publication of the political correspondence. The Kaiser Wilhelm-Institut für Deutsche Geschichte, under direction of Paul Kehr in collaboration with the Haus-, Hof- und Staats-

archiv at Vienna, has brought about the completion of the *Reichsregisterbücher Kaiser Karls V.*, edited by Lothar Gross (Vienna and Leipzig, Gerlach and Wiedling, pp. 310, 30 M.). For the cabinet correspondence, Dr. Walser, using Professor Brandi's preliminary studies, has worked through the Vienna archives and is continuing his investigations in Spain. Professor Hasenclever has charge of the work in Paris. Publication of the correspondence of Ferdinand I. is also being pushed. An enlarged reprint of an article previously noted in this journal is appended.

The Life and Teachings and Works of Ludwig Hetzer, 1500–1529, by Frederick Lewis Weis (Dorchester, Mass., Underhill Press, pp. 239). is a dissertation presented for the doctoral degree to the Protestant Theological Faculty of the University of Strasbourg. It will be recalled that this Anabaptist martyr translated the Hebrew prophets into German five years before Luther's translation. The appendix contains a collection of Hetzer's letters.

The *Studien zur Fugger-Geschichte*, edited by Jakob Strieder, has for its eighth volume a study of the *Venezianischer Handel der Fugger nach der Musterbuchhaltung des Matthäus Schwarz*, by Alfred Weitnauer (Munich, Duncker, pp. xvi, 323).

The influence of the American Revolution was for well-known reasons far more immediate and greater in France than in Germany. One may turn with all the more curiosity to a book on *Echoes of the American Revolution in German Literature*, by Henry Safford King, which is the second section of vol. IV. of the series in Modern Philology published by the University of California Press. The author quotes freely where he detects an echo, and this enables the reader to estimate its significance.

The names of many of the German emigrants to America in the eighteenth century are found in three pamphlets of Dr. Adolf Gerber, *Die Nassau-Dillenburger Auswanderung nach Amerika im 18. Jahrhundert* (Flensburg, Deutscher Verlag, pp. 51); *Beiträge*, and *Neue Beiträge, zur Auswanderung nach Amerika im 18. Jahrhundert aus Altwürttembergischen Kirchenbüchern* (Stuttgart, J. F. Steinkopf, pp. 32, 44). Copies may be had of Professor R. W. Kelsey, of Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

The publication of Von Bülow's *Denkwürdigkeiten* has not been without reverberations. In the February number of the *Berliner Monatshefte*, for example, three articles review or essay to controvert them.

The Librairie Plon issued on February 20 a translation of vol. III. [final] (1909–1919) of the *Mémoires du Chancelier Prince de Bülow* with the subtitle of *La Grande Guerre et la Débâcle* (36 fr.).

Articles: Hermann Aubin, *Mainz und Frankfurt, Vergleich zweier Städteschicksale* [manifoldness of German city growth] (Hist. Viertel-

jahr., Jan. 15, 1931); F. R. Salter, *The Hanse, Cologne, and the Crisis of 1468* (Ec. Hist. Rev., Jan., 1931); Hans Morgenthaler, *Bern und Solothurn im Streit um die Handelsstrassen* [1479–1499] (Arch. des Hist. Ver. des Kantons Bern, XXX. 2); Emil Meyer, *Das Tellbuch der Stadt Bern vom Jahre 1494* (*ibid.*); Karl Schultze-Jahde, *Dreissigjähriger Krieg und Deutsche Dichtung* [no serious destructive influence] (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLIII. 2); Otto Brunner, *Oesterreich und die Walachei während des Turkenkrieges von 1683–1699* [revival of Austrian claims to Wallachia a feature of this war] (Mitteil. des Oesterreich. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLIV. 2–3); Johann Sass, *Hermann von Balan als Diplomat und Schriftsteller* [his unpublished diaries, covering 1000 folio pages, an important source especially for the events of 1851–1853; minister to Belgium, 1864–1873; one of Bismarck's most faithful fellow workers] (Preuss. Jahrb., Dec.); Eduard von Wertheimer, *Der Prozess Arnim*, I., concl. [Bismarck *vs.* German ex-ambassador to Paris, for removal of documents from embassy files, 1874] (*ibid.*, Nov., Dec.); Heinrich Walther, *Die Deutsch-Englischen Bündnisverhandlungen von 1901 und ihre Ergebnisse* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Jan. 15, 1931); *Fürst Bülow und Hermann vom Rath, nach Unveröffentlichten Dokumenten* [correspondence, 1912–1914], I. (Preuss. Jahr., Jan. 1931).

NORTHERN EUROPE

A bibliography of Norwegian historical literature for 1927 is published in the Norwegian *Historisk Tidsskrift* (1930, 3); it is prepared by Reidar Omang and lists 1248 titles.

The Swedish *Historisk Tidskrift* (1930, 3) publishes an important article by C. F. Palmstierna on Sweden and the Problem of the Orient in 1831–1841 (Sverige och den Orientaliska Frågan). The author holds that Bernadotte was much interested in the discussions that went on between England and Russia, hoping that a crisis would enable him to round out the territories of Sweden in Lapland.

Den Ryska Pacificeringen i Finland, 1808–1809, by L. G. von Bonsdorff (Helsingfors, Söderström, 1929), is a study of Russian policies in Finland in the years immediately following the annexation. The author finds that the higher classes soon adjusted themselves to the new order, but that the masses continued loyal to the Swedish tradition.

Another interesting contribution to the history of Finland is C. M. Schybergson's Från Tilsit till Sveaborgs Kapitulation [from Tilsit to the surrender of Sveaborg] (*Acta Academiae Aboensis*, 1929). Schybergson believes that the earlier judgments in the case of Alexander I. were too severe. The invasion of Finland, he believes, was undertaken not because the czar had strong ambitions in that direction but because he was urged to the attack by Napoleon.

Oscar Albert Johnsen is preparing a history of the old Norwegian city of Tönsberg, of which the first volume, dealing with the Middle Ages, appeared in 1929 (*Tönsbergs Historie*, I., Oslo, Gyldendal).

Up to the present we have lacked an ecclesiastical history of Poland. This gap has been filled by Karl Völker's *Kirchengeschichte Polens* (Berlin, De Gruyter, pp. xii, 338).

La Pologne, by Mirkine-Guetzévitch and André Tibal (Paris, Delagrave), is a convenient handbook, descriptive of the evolution of modern Poland and containing the principal constitutional and diplomatic texts by which the country is governed to-day.

The *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*, founded in 1910 and discontinued during the World War, has been revived under the editorship of Otto Hoetzsch, of the University of Berlin, assisted by Karl Stählin, Richard Salomon, K. L. Goetz, of the universities of Berlin, Hamburg, and Bonn. The first number of the new series (1931), after an introduction by Dr. Hoetzsch, contains articles by S. F. Platonov on the origin of serfdom in Russia, Karl Stählin on the memoir literature of the last decade of Catherine II., and by Richard Salomon on a Greek clerical adventurer, Paisius Ligarides. Hans Jonas gives the first installment of a review of the development of historical research in the Soviet republic.

Stories of the Russian Terrorists and the czar's secret police have piqued the curiosity of the older generation ever since the murder of Alexander II. Two books which draw aside the veil because the authors were at the centers of repression are *Histoire du Terrorisme Russe, 1886–1917*, by General Alexandre Spiridovitch, translated from the Russian by Vladimir Lazarevski (Paris, Payot, pp. 668, 60 fr.), and *Souvenirs d'un Chef de l'Okhrana, 1900–1917*, by General P. Zavarzine (Paris, Payot, pp. 300, 18 fr.). General Spiridovitch was from 1906 to 1916 chief of the *Sûreté Personnelle* of Nicholas II. He had also been an officer of the Okhrana of Kiev. General Zavarzine had directed the services at Kichinev, Odessa, Warsaw, as well as at Moscow.

Articles: Absalon Taranger, *Alting og Lagting* [shire assemblies and provincial assemblies] (Historisk Tidsskrift—Norwegian, 1930, 3); Otto Rydbeck, *Nordens Äldsta Bebyggelse* [the beginnings of settlement in the North] (Fornvännen, 1930, 1); Nils Åberg, *Krig och Handel under Forhistorisk Tid* [war and trade in prehistoric times] (Fornvännen, 1930, 2); Kemp Malone, *King Alfred's North* (Speculum, 1930, 2); K. Waliszewski, *Deux Amies Russes de Chateaubriand, l'Impératrice Élisabeth Aléxiéiévna et la Comtesse Tolstoy: leur Correspondance, 1817–1825* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., XLIV. 4). L. M. L.

CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE NEAR EAST

In the *Slavonic Review* for December appears the first installment of Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt's study of the Bosnian Annexation Crisis of 1908, describing how Aerenthal and Izwolsky plotted, the one to seize Serbia, the other to open the Straits and thus "to take advantage of the Turkish Revolution to execute far-reaching plans". In the first

section of her article on the War Scare of 1875, Miss Winifred Taffs reviews the new material accessible since this question was last discussed especially in regard to Bismarck's fear of an ultramontane alliance against Germany. Some new light upon the Polish Rising of 1830 is given by Adam Lewak.

In the July number of *La Revue Bulgare*, Professor N. Stanev describes the formation and composition of the Bulgarian State of the Middle Ages, particularly under the czars Boris and Simeon.

Les Éditions Internationales (Paris) has just issued the first volume of its new series (La Documentation Internationale) entitled *Constantinople et les Détroits* (book I.), by A. Lapradelle, Louis Eisenmann, and B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch. It contains a collection of documents published *in extenso* on all the diplomatic conversations between the Allies on the subject of the Straits. The preface is by Professor Lapradelle, the introduction by Professor Renouvin, and the comments by Professor Mirkine-Guetzévitch.

La Situation Juridique des Macédoniens en Yougoslavie, by Professor Karl Strupp (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, pp. 139, 50 fr.), is an attempt to establish by historical evidence the status of the protesting Macedonians as a minority in the sense of the Treaty of Saint-Germain. The author begins his review of the facts with the medieval period.

FAR EAST

The *Life of Chingis-Khan*, by Professor B. Y. Vladimirstov, translated from the Russian by Prince D. S. Mirsky (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, pp. x, 172, $2.50), embodies within brief compass the essential facts of the great Mongol conqueror and of the social conditions in which he moved, drawn primarily from Mongol sources.

The second edition of Ishwari Prasad's *History of Medieval India*, of which the first edition was reviewed here (XXXI. 566–567), has appeared in a French translation by H. de Saugy, under the title *L'Inde du VII^e^ au XVI^e^ Siècle*, as vol. VIII. of E. Cavaignac's *Histoire du Monde* (Paris, E. de Boccard). F. E.

The government of Ceylon has put forth in English translation, from the Portuguese lately printed, though finished in manuscript in 1687, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* (The Hague, Nijhoff), by Father Fernão de Queyroz, S.J., ecclesiastic at Goa for more than fifty years. Based on earlier manuscript and personal knowledge, it is a first-rate source of knowledge for the history of Ceylon, and especially of the struggle of Portuguese and Dutch for its possession.

As Professor Blakeslee remarked at the Boston meeting of the American Historical Association, the essential element in the Japanese problem, affecting both the internal development of the nation and its foreign policies, is a rapidly expanding population within a narrowly

restricted cultivatable area. This makes especially welcome *Japan's Economic Position*, by John E. Orchard (New York, McGraw-Hill, pp. xvi, 504, $5.00). The aim of the work is more precisely indicated in the subtitle, *The Progress of Industrialization*. It is based not only upon the examination of all pertinent material including government reports, but also upon the observations of the author during tours of investigation in the years 1927 and 1928. Its illustrations and diagrams assist the reader in profiting by its expositions of every phase of Japanese industrial life.

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, the following may be noted: a French Book of Hours, *c.* 1500; photographs of dictionaries, etc., of Maya, Quiché, and other aboriginal languages; papers of Silas Deane, accounts of expenditures in Paris, etc., about 100 pieces; a series of about 225 letters, 1776–1781, written to Edmond Charles Genêt by his father and mother and sister (see M. Jusserand in *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, July, 1930); notes of Philip Mazzei in Paris, *c.* 1784; record-book of Worthy Park Plantation, Jamaica, 1791–1797; correspondence of Generals John and Anthony Lamb, 1794–1851 (101 letters); three letters of Gallatin respecting the trial of Burr; 40 letters of Hugh Nelson, M.C., mostly 1808–1818; record-books and correspondence (nearly 2000 letters) of Russell and Co., Oriental trade, 1812–1860; journal of Caroline B. Poole in Louisiana, 1835–1837; land-book of the estate of General Thomas Sumter, 1838; 17 papers respecting sale of criminal slaves, Florida, 1860; journal of John S. Jackman, Confederate soldier, 1861–1865; papers of James A. Garfield, 244 volumes; White House record of letters received, 1889–1893, 1897–1909, 21 volumes.

A Bibliography of the History of Agriculture in the United States, by Everett E. Edwards, has appeared as Miscellaneous Publication no. 84, of the United States Department of Agriculture.

In the *Journal of Economic and Business History* for February, Curtis Nettels, under the title of the Economic Relations of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, 1680–1715, deals with a period in which New York was in some respects the commercial satellite of Boston. Even at that time Bellomont found New York to be "the growingest town in America". Among the other articles are The Father of New England Stage-Coaching, by Oliver W. Holmes, A Mercantilist Episode, by Robert H. George, and the Disposal of the Public Domain in Illinois, by Paul Wallace Gates.

The January number of *Agricultural History* contains articles on Gerrit Smith Miller: a Pioneer in the Dairy and Cattle Business, by Professor W. Freeman Galpin, of Syracuse University, and on Absentee Landlordism in the British Caribbean, 1750–1833, by Professor Lowell J. Ragatz, of the George Washington University.

Dr. Käthe Spiegel has published in the *Hochschulwissen* of Warnsdorf, Czechoslovakia, an interesting illustrated article on Bauten und Innenräume aus Amerikas Kolonialzeit.

The Sharples: their Portraits of George Washington and his Contemporaries, by Katharine McCook Knox (New Haven, Yale University Press, pp. xvi, 133, $6.00), throws much new light upon an interesting subject, because it is based primarily upon the diary of Ellen Sharples, hitherto unavailable. The author has been able to show that of the thirty portraits of Washington which have been attributed to James Sharples all except three or four were the work of his wife and sons. The volume is richly illustrated, containing 129 reproductions of portraits. The frontispiece reproduces a portrait of Washington done in black embroidery silk on an ivory silk background, which has been in possession of the Mount Vernon Association since 1902.

Those who have visited Fredericksburg and have seen the cottage where Washington's mother lived, as well as Kenmore, the home of her daughter Betty Lewis, will welcome the volume on *The Mother of Washington,* by Nancy Byrd Turner in collaboration with Sidney Gunn (Hartford, Edward Valentine Mitchell; New York, Dodd, Mead, pp. 284, $3.50), which gives the story of Mary Washington's life. The volume is illustrated with photographs of the houses and the rooms associated with her.

A French edition of M. Bernard Faÿ's *Benjamin Franklin* has been issued by Calmann-Lévy.

Morton Pennypacker deals with the spy and secret service systems employed by the Continental Army during the Revolution, in his study of *The Two Spies: Nathan Hale and Robert Townsend* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, pp. vii, 118, $5.00).

The practice of governments of issuing commemorative stamps is familiar but few realize how widely by this means the incidents of American history have been recalled until one examines such a book as *America's Story as told in Postage Stamps,* by Edward M. Allen (New York, McGraw-Hill, pp. 167, $2.50). The narrative is written in a straightforward style, and the illustrations are to be the stamps, for which places are provided in immediate connection with the event or personage commemorated.

In *The Early History of the Republican Party, 1854–1856* (Boston, Richard G. Badger, pp. 313, $3.00), the author, Andrew Wallace Crandall, has been able to make a contribution upon a familiar theme by turning his attention especially toward the construction of a machine and the methods of propaganda. He has made a wide use of the manuscript papers, in the Library of Congress and other libraries, left by the statesmen and politicians of the period.

The Forest Service, its History, Activities, and Organization, by Darrell Hevenor Smith (Washington, Brookings Institution, pp. xi, 268, $2.00), is no. 58 of the Service Monographs of the United States government. From chapter I., which deals with the history of the service, it is apparent how recent has been any effective interest in the preservation of timber. The first efforts were directed toward safeguarding live oak for the navy. The author might in this case have pointed out that the government was following the precedents set by the British naval authorities during the colonial period. The rapid progress of conservation during the last three decades is encouraging. The manual is provided with an extensive bibliography.

Professor Carl Wittke, author of *Tambo and Bones* (Durham, Duke University Press, pp. 269, $2.50), expresses in his preface the hope that his little book will be "received as a serious contribution to American social history". The subtitle, *A History of the American Minstrel Stage*, more exactly expresses his aim and method of treatment, and the title itself illustrates the present tendency to attach to biography and even to history bizarre or sensational labels. The reader of this volume will probably be surprised that the "black-faced" entertainer goes back to the confines of the eighteenth century and the minstrel show to the early forties of the nineteenth. In one of his chapters Professor Wittke gives an account of the decline and fall of this form of entertainment.

No. 2 of volume II., *Research Studies* of the State College of Washington, contains an historical sketch of the Japanese Exclusion Bill of 1924 and a discussion of its consequences.

An appreciative sketch of General Henry T. Allen appears in the *Europäische Gespräche* of November over the initials of A. V.

Articles: S. E. Morison, *Those Misunderstood Puritans* (Forum, Mar., 1931); Ludovic de Contenson, *Les Officiers Français en Amérique et la Société des Cincinnati* (Rev. des Études Hist., Oct.); Jean Marchand, *Trois Lettres Inédites du Duc de Liancourt, Philadelphie, 1796–1797* [respectively to Mme. de Liancourt, Washington, and Letombe, French consul at Philadelphia] (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., XLIV. 4); Lieutenant Commander Parker H. Kemble, U. S. Naval Reserve, *The U.S.S. Essex versus H.M.S. Phoebe* [March 28, 1814] (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, Feb., 1931); Harold J. Laski, *Woodrow Wilson after Ten Years* (Forum, Mar., 1931); Firmin Roz, *Le Cas Wilson* [interpretation of Woodrow Wilson] (Rev. des D. M., Dec. 1); Benjamin F. Wright, jr., *American Democracy and the Frontier* (Yale Rev., Winter); Lieutenant Colonel Dan I. Sultan, Corps of Engineers, *The Nicaraguan Canal Survey* (Coast Artillery Jour., Jan., 1931).

NEW ENGLAND

In the *New England Quarterly* for January, under the title of Loyalist Troops in New England, Professor W. H. Siebert continues his valuable

contributions to Loyalist history. The account of Edward Winslow, jr., of Plymouth, a member of the class of 1765 at Harvard, is especially detailed and interesting. A remarkable study in biographical characterization in the same issue is Professor R. B. Perry's Charles William Eliot, his Personal Traits and Essential Creed, which takes as its point of departure James's life of President Eliot.

The *Three Hundredth Anniversary of the First Church of Salem, Massachusetts*, gives the addresses made in commemoration of the original Salem Church founded in 1629 (Salem, Essex Institute, $2.00).

The New England Society in the City of New York marks its one hundred twenty-fifth commemoration of Forefathers' Day, in 1930, by producing an agreeable little reprint of Rev. Francis Higginson's *New England's Plantation*, from the second edition (London, 1630).

The January number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* contains that part of Boyles's Journal of Occurrences in Boston which relates to the year 1775.

The *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society, vol. I., no. 4 (Dec.), includes a paper on the Early History of Manchester, by Judge John S. Pettibone; the Rev. Jeremiah Day's Journal of a Missionary Tour to Vermont in 1788, with an introduction by Clive Day; and a letter from Elisha Payne to Roger Sherman, October 28, 1778. Payne was in Dresden, Vermont, Sherman was in the Continental Congress, and the letter pertains largely to Ethan Allen.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Two antiquarian articles appear in the New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* for January. One of them, by Reginald P. Bolton, gives an account of the objects of historical interest discovered in the course of excavations at number 120 Wall Street in 1929; the other is concerning the Leaden Bale Seals of the Revolution, by William L. Calver.

Mrs. Russell Hastings contributes to the January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, an article on the Barbers of Orange and Albany Counties, New York, and Elizabethtown, New Jersey. This contribution is a sequel to the article on William James of Albany, published in vol. LV. of the *Record* (1924).

The history of B'nai Jeshurun, the second oldest Jewish congregation in the City of New York, is the aim of *A Century of Judaism in New York*, by Israel Goldstein, its rabbi (New York, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, pp. xiv, 460). An introduction deals with the earliest Jewish settlements in America. Appendix C contains the register of the congregation from the beginning.

In the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society for January, Charles A. Philhower has a paper on South Jersey Indians on the Bay,

the Cape, and the Coast, and A. Van Doren Honeyman a biographical sketch of Isaac Southard, state treasurer of New Jersey, 1837–1843. The Cornelia (Bell) Paterson Letters (1779–1780) are continued.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* has in the January number the address of John Frederick Lewis on Count Pulaski, delivered in Independence Square in October, 1929; an article by Randolph G. Adams entitled ". . . And Sold by Messrs. Franklin and Hall", which concerns a rare imprint, *An Historical Account of Earthquakes* (Liverpool, 1756); and the Diary of Grace Growden Galloway, with introduction and notes by Raymond C. Werner. The diarist was the wife of Joseph Galloway, of colonial fame, and the diary, which was kept at Philadelphia, covers the period from June 17, 1778, to July 1, 1779.

In the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, for September, Rev. Jordan M. Dillon discusses a Dominican Influence in the Discovery of America, and Rev. Michael Moran gives a critical and bibliographical survey of the Writings of Francis Patrick Kenrick, Archbishop of Baltimore. In the December number the leading article is The Congregation de Propaganda Fide: its Foundation and Historical Antecedents, by Rev. Joseph A. Griffin. The Maryland Influence in American Catholicism is also discussed by Sarah Redwood Lee.

The *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* has in the January number a paper on the Intellectual Life of Pittsburgh, 1786–1836, by Edward P. Anderson; a History of the Capture and Captivity of David Boyd from Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1856, edited by Mrs. Elbert M. Davis; and a continuation of Captain Samuel A. Craig's Memoirs of Civil War and Reconstruction.

In volume XXXI.–XXXII. of the *Records* of the Columbia Historical Society (pp. 379) the largest contribution (pp. 89) is a biography of John Howard Payne, by Miss Rosa P. Chiles. There is also a history of the Arlington Case (G. W. Custis Lee *vs.* the United States) by E. A. Chase, an illustrated account of the Old Mills in the District of Columbia and its neighborhood, by Allen C. Clark, and a discourse on Early Landmarks on the Virginia shores of the Potomac, opposite Washington, by Dr. Charles O. Paullin. Miss Chiles's *John Howard Payne* is obtainable also as a separate volume, from the author (1631 S St., N.W., Washington, D. C.).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for January, J. Fred Rippy, with the title, The South Examines Itself, reviews ten of the recent books written by Southerners dealing chiefly with economic aspects of the South's development since Reconstruction. Another article of interest in the study of contemporary life is Recent Political Crises in Great Britain, by William Thomas Morgan.

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains a paper by William B. Marye on the Place-Names of Baltimore and Harford Counties, and one by DeCourcy W. Thom on the Old Senate Chamber in the State House at Annapolis, the chamber in which the Continental Congress sat from November 26, 1783, to June 3, 1784.

A sumptuous volume of *Virginia Historical Portraiture, 1585–1830*, edited by Alexander Wilbourne Weddell, with an introduction by Ellen Glasgow and a review of Early American Portraiture by Thomas B. Clarke (Richmond, William Byrd Press, $100.00), commemorates the Exhibition of Contemporary Portraits associated with Virginia which was held in Virginia House, Richmond, two years ago. More than 200 portraits are reproduced in half tones, engravings, and color prints. Each portrait is accompanied by a biographical sketch.

A *Virginia Historical Guide* is announced by Mr. E. G. Swem, librarian of the College of William and Mary, for publication in 1932. It will be an index to the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, the *Virginia Historical Register*, the *Lower Norfolk County Antiquary*, the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, and Hening's *Statutes of Virginia*. There will be two volumes of over 1500 pages each. It is to be privately printed, in a limited edition of 300 copies, at the price of $100.

Besides its several continued series the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* begins in the January number the publication of Lower Norfolk County Records, 1636–1646.

The January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* includes among its contents an article by Charles A. Hoppin on the Three Homes of Washington's Boyhood; a contribution by Philip G. Auchampaugh entitled the Union and the States by a Jeffersonian Jurist, embodying a letter from George W. Woodward to Judge Jeremiah S. Black, December 10, 1860; and a further installment of the Diary of Miss Harriet Cary, continued from the October, 1927, number of the *Magazine*.

Among the articles in the January number of *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* are: Colonial Churches in Spotsylvania County, by Dorothy V. M. Powell; Richard Bland's Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies, by J. E. Pate; some correspondence and other papers of Colonel James Higginbotham (1729–1813), surveyor of Amherst County, contributed by Mrs. W. M. Sweeny; and the Diary of Powhatan Robertson during his student days at William and Mary in 1816.

The Established Church in Virginia and the Revolution, by Dr. G. Maclaren Brydon, originally published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, has been issued separately (Richmond, Virginia Diocesan Library). Its purpose is to combat certain conclusions advanced in Professor W. M. Gewehr's *The Great Awakening in Virginia*.

A catalogue has been published of the *Early Maps of Carolina and Adjoining Regions together with Early Prints of Charleston from the Collection of Henry P. Kendall*, which were exhibited at the University of South Carolina last November. The catalogue was compiled by Priscilla Smith and edited by Louis C. Karpinski.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has received a collection of 103 Civil War letters, 1861–1864, of Colonel Frank M. Parker, of the 30th North Carolina Regiment.

The January number of the *North Carolina Review* contains articles by Charles C. Crittenden on Ships and Shipping in North Carolina, 1763–1789, by Miss Isabel Ferguson on the County Court in Virginia, 1700–1830, and by E. Merton Coulter on Sherman and the South. A documentary publication of unusual value is Proceedings at a Treaty with the Overhill Cherokee Indians held at Fort Patrick Henry near the Long Island on Holston River in June and July, 1777 (pp. 59), for which Archibald Henderson furnishes an introduction.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* begins in the January number the publication of the letters of John Stewart, Indian trader and expansionist at the end of the seventeenth century, to William Dunlop. The letters are contributed by J. G. Dunlop, of London, and are annotated by Miss Mabel L. Webber. In the present number of the magazine is a single letter (pp. 33), written from Wadboo Barony, April 27, 1690. Mr. A. S. Salley contributes a letter from the second landgrave, Thomas Smith, written from his plantation on January 16, 1708. Rev. Edgar L. Pennington contributes a paper on the Rev. Thomas Morritt and the Free School in Charles Town.

Among the articles in the December number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* are: With Pardo and Boyano on the Fringes of Georgia Land, 1566–1567, by Mary Ross, and Nullification in Georgia and South Carolina as viewed by the New West, by W. T. Miller.

The January number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* includes the following articles: Documents covering the Impeachment of Bienville under Direction of Louis XIV. before Diron D'Artaguette, Special Commissioner, at Fort Louis, Mobile, February 24–27, 1708, in a translation by A. G. Sanders, with introduction by Henry P. Dart; the History of Washington Parish, as compiled from the Records and Traditions, by Prentiss B. Carter; and Schools of New Orleans during the First Quarter of the Nineteenth Century, by Stuart G. Noble.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* has in the January number, besides continued articles hitherto mentioned, part I. of a Brief Study of Thomas J. Rusk, based on his Letters to his Brother David, 1835–1856, by Lois F. Blount.

WESTERN STATES

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March opens with an address by M. M. Quaife on The Ohio Campaigns of 1782, which was

delivered last October at Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, on the occasion of the sesquicentennial celebration of the battle of Piqua, August 8, 1780. Walter B. Posey deals with the Influence of Slavery upon the Methodist Church in the Early South and Southwest. The other three articles are: Francis P. Blair, Pen-Executive of Andrew Jackson, by William E. Smith, The Chicago *Times* and the Civil War, by Donald B. Sanger, and Recent Industrial Growth and Politics in the Southern Appalachian Region, by John D. Barnhart.

The January number of *Mid-America* contains an article by Hugh Graham on Catholic Missionary Schools among the Indians of Minnesota; one on Pioneer Catholics of Nodaway County, Missouri, by Damian L. Cummins; and the journal of Nicolas Point recording a Journey in a Barge on the Missouri from the Fort of the Blackfeet to that of the Assiniboines (that is, from Fort Lewis to Fort Union), in 1847.

Mrs. W. H. Coffman contributes to the January number of the *Filson Club History Quarterly* John D. Shane's notes of his interview with Ben Guthrie relating to Big Crossing Station, built by Robert Johnson. Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie (2039 Lewis Street, Chicago, Ill.), who is compiling a bibliography of Kentucky imprints to 1830, contributes a list of 181 titles of which no imprint has been located. He would appreciate information concerning the whereabouts of any of these items or other unrecorded Kentucky imprints.

The January number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains an article by W. B. Posey on a rather curious subject, the Earthquake of 1811 and its Influence on Evangelistic Methods of the Churches of the Old South. In the same issue is a paper by Samuel C. Williams, giving an account of the Presbyterian mission to the Cherokees, 1757–1759, undertaken by Rev. William Richardson. Sections of a diary by Richardson are included.

The January number of the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* contains an interesting array of articles, mainly on subjects in Tennessee history, but some of wider scope. Margaret B. Hamer presents a study of the Presidential Campaign of 1860 in Tennessee; George F. Milton discourses upon some characteristic episodes in the career of Andrew Johnson, 'Man of Courage'; T. P. Abernethy discusses the Political Geography of Southern Jacksonism; W. B. Hesseltine offers a study of Methodism and Reconstruction in East Tennessee; James W. Holland gives an account of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, 1830–1860; and Philip M. Hamer presents some new light on the Wataugans and the Cherokee Indians in 1776. The documentary publications include: Letters of an East Tennessee Abolitionist (Ezekiel Birdseye), edited by W. Freeman Galpin.

The original Journal of the Northwest Territory, from July 9, 1788, to July 1, 1800, has been given to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society by John H. James, of Urbana, whose grandfather

came into possession of it early in the nineteenth century. The copy of the Journal entries subsequent to June, 1795, forwarded to the Department of State seems to have been lost, and the original was also supposed to be lost. The society already possessed many manuscripts relating to the Northwest Territory left by its secretary, Winthrop Sargent, and given by Winthrop Sargent VI. Among these were the Journal of the Governor and Judges in Cincinnati in 1795, who met to bring the laws of the territory within the constitutional provisions of the Ordinance of 1787. The society has also received from the grandchildren of Joshua R. Giddings a valuable collection of his correspondence, diaries, scrapbooks, etc.

A *History of the Sycamore Associate Reformed Church,* which is now United Presbyterian, left in manuscript by Josiah Morrow at his death in 1914, has been published by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio (January number) is devoted to an account of Brigadier General Winchester's campaign against the British and Indians and his defeat at Frenchtown, November 22, 1812, as told in the Journal of Elias Darnell, a Kentucky soldier.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for January is an illustrated monograph, by J. Arthur MacLean, of the Toledo Museum of Art, on the *Excavation of Albee Mound, 1926–1927,* a mound in Sullivan County, Indiana.

The December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a History of the Hope Congregation in North Carolina, by Adelaide L. Fries, a History of Negro Elementary Education in Indianapolis, by H. M. Riley, and a sketch, by H. S. K. Bartholomew, of the administration (1892–1896) of Governor Claude Matthews.

The contents of the *Missouri Historical Review* for January include the first part of a study, by George S. Johns, of Joseph Pulitzer's Early Life in St. Louis and his Founding and Conduct of the *Post-Dispatch* up to 1883; part I. of a life of John Evans, Explorer and Surveyor, by A. P. Nasatir; and a paper on the Beginning of the Whig Party in Missouri, 1824–1840, by Leota Newhard.

The *Michigan History Magazine,* Winter number, contains a paper by George B. Catlin on the Regime of the Governor and Judges of Michigan Territory; a sketch, by William L. Jenks, of Stanley Griswold, first secretary of Michigan Territory; and some Pastoral Letters from the Bishop of Quebec to the Inhabitants of Detroit, edited by William R. Riddell. The letters are of 1720 and 1789. There is also an article, by Vivian L. Moore, entitled a Pocahontas of Michigan (Madeline Marcotte).

The Detroit Biography in the January number of the *Burton Historical Leaflet* is of David Bacon (1771–1817), by the editor, M. M. Quaife.

The Department of History of the State University of Iowa held its eleventh annual Historical Conference in Iowa City on February 6 and 7. The visiting speakers on the program included Dixon R. Fox, James Westfall Thompson, Avery O. Craven, and Wendell Vreeland.

In the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Louis Pelzer has an article on Iowa City: a Miniature Frontier of the Forties, Edward M. Benton, an account of Soldier Voting in Iowa, and Samuel C. E. Powers, a paper on the Iowa State Highway Commission: a Study in Administration.

The January number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains an account of the Newspaper Collection of the Historical, Memorial, and Art Department of Iowa, by Edward F. Pittman, curator, and a continuation of the descriptive list of Abandoned Towns, Villages, and Post Offices of Iowa, by David C. Mott.

The aim of Ellis L. Kirkpatrick in *The English River Congregation of the Church of the Brethren* (Iowa City, State Historical Society, Monograph Series, no. 2, pp. 107) is to study an active rural congregation, its social and religious traditions, its creed, and their evolution for more than three-quarters of a century. This particular group was organized near South English, Iowa, in 1855. Its five original families came from Allen County, Ohio, the year before.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has received an interesting group of letters written by Margaret E. Sangster, containing comments on the literary events of the closing decade of the nineteenth century.

The contents of the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* are principally memoirs and recollections, including the Pioneer Reminiscences of Oliver Gilbert, Recollections of Farm Life, by Mrs. Ambrose Warner, Early Times in St. Croix County, by J. A. Andrews, and a continuation of the Memoirs of Mary D. Bradford. W. H. Titus contributes some Observations on the Menominee Indians.

Articles in the December number of *Minnesota History* are: Father Louis Hennepin, Belgian, by Prince Albert de Ligne, Belgian ambassador to the United States; Posts in the Minnesota Fur-Trading Area, 1660–1855, by Grace Lee Nute; and Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849–1860, by Arthur J. Larsen.

Vol. V. of *Studies and Records* of the Norwegian-American Historical Association (Northfield, Minn., pp. 151), edited by Theodore C. Blegen, embodies several papers which illustrate the activities of the Norwegian immigrant. It includes a bibliography entitled Some Recent Publications relating to Norwegian-American History, compiled by Jacob Hodnefield, of the James J. Hill Reference Library, of St. Paul.

The Kansas State Historical Society has presented as vol. III. of its *Publications, The Political Career of General James H. Lane*, by Wendell Holmes Stephenson, associate professor of American history in

Louisiana State University (Topeka, State Printer, pp. 196). The secretary, William E. Connelley, has written a brief introduction.

The *Colorado Magazine* has in the January number an article by Elmer Ellis on Colorado's First Fight for Statehood, 1865–1868.

The *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* has in the January number an account of the Black Hills Gold Rush, by Harold E. Briggs, and the Diary of Henry J. Hagadorn, a private in the Sibley expedition in 1863. The Diary is edited by John P. Pritchett.

Rev. Edmund R. Cody has published in pamphlet form, well illustrated, a *History of the Coeur d'Alene Mission of the Sacred Heart,* an account of the work of Father Peter de Smet and his successors among the Flatheads. The site of the mission was chosen about 1846, and work went on until 1877 when the church ceased to be within the limits of the Indian reservation. The buildings have recently been restored as a monument to the lives of these early missionaries.

The principal contents of the January number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* are: Antonio de Espejo as a Familiar of the Mexican Inquisition, 1572–1578, by G. R. C. Conway; Governor Mendinueta's Proposals for the Defense of New Mexico, 1772–1778, by Alfred B. Thomas; the Zuñiga Journal, Tucson to Santa Fé: the Opening of a Spanish Trade Route, 1788–1795, by George P. Hammond; and an account of the battle of La Glorieta Pass (March, 1862), by J. F. Santee.

The December number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* contains an article on the Legend of the Battle of Claremore Mound (1818), by Rachel C. Easton; one on Some Remnants of Frontier Journalism, by M. A. Ranck; and a continuation of the History of the Cherokee Indians, by Hugh T. Cunningham.

Motivation and Political Technique in the California Constitutional Convention, 1878–1879, by Carl Brent Swisher, appears in the Political Science Monograph series of Pomona College, Claremont, California.

Paul S. Taylor has continued his studies of Mexican labor in this country in no. 5, vol. VI., of the University of California Publications in Economics under the title of *Mexican Labor in the United States, Dimmit County, Winter Garden District, South Texas.*

The December number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* contains the following articles: Designs for a Pacific Republic, 1843–1862, by Joseph Ellison; Joseph Ashton, Astorian Sailor, 1812–1815, by Kenneth W. Porter; and Beginnings of East Portland, by Leslie M. Scott.

The January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains an article on Legislative Apportionment in Washington, by J. Orin Oliphant; one by Professor Edmond S. Meany on the *Ulster County Gazette*; and a continuation of the Biographical Sketch of Captain William Moore, by Clarence L. Andrews.

No. 17 of the *Papers* of the Hawaiian Historical Society is made up of the papers read before the society on September 30.

CANADA

In the *Canadian Historical Review* for February, J. Bartlet Brebner recounts the part that Joseph Howe played in the Crimean War Enlistment Controversy between Great Britain and the United States. His study is based primarily on the Joseph Howe Papers preserved in the Public Archives of Canada. Howe, Professor Brebner remarks, "preserved every available scrap of paper concerning" the affair. In this number also W. T. Waugh reviews Some Recent Books on the Relations of Great Britain and the United States.

The Ontario Historical Society has published vols: XXV. and XXVI. of its *Papers and Records* (Ontario Historical Society, Toronto, 1929, 1930, pp. 500, 578, $2.00 each). Vol. XXVI. is made up chiefly of documents, Petitions for Grants of Land in Upper Canada, second series, 1796–1799, Selections from the Papers of James Evans, Missionary to the Indians, and the Proudfoot Papers, 1833. In the earlier volume, for the most part papers read before the society, is the Story of the Old Fort at Toronto, by E. J. Hathaway, which will not be read with satisfaction on this side of the border.

In section 2 of vol. XXIII. of the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, James F. Kenney has described one of the pioneers of the Hudson Bay Company, under the title of The Career of Henry Kelsey (Ottawa, Royal Society, pp. 37–71). This essay is especially instructive because, as Dr. Kenney points out, while the story of the settlements in Acadia and on the St. Lawrence is familiar, the tale of the deeds of the Hudson Bay adventurers is "known hardly more than in outline".

MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA

In the *Hispanic American Historical Review* for February, Clarence H. Haring reviews Chilean Politics, 1920–1928, and A. Curtis Wilgus gives an account of the Second International American Conference at Mexico City, which was held in 1901. Irving A. Leonard contributes a translation of a letter of the Archbishop of Mexico describing an Attempted Indian Attack on the Manila Galleon of 1734.

One of the recent publications of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba concerns Joaquín Infante, the author of the first project of a constitution for Cuba.

Vol. I. of the *Bibliografía Biográfica Mexicana*, by Juan B. Iguiniz, bears the subtitle, *Repertorios Biográficos* (Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores).

No. 51 of the *Boletín* de la Academia Nacional de la Historia of Venezuela prints documents concerning the career of General José de la

Cruz Paredes, letters of Andrés Bello, and an article by C. Parra-Pérez on the downfall of the First Venezuelan Republic in 1812.

As the first number of a projected series, the University of Córdoba has just published a documented monograph by P. Cabrera, containing facsimiles, which bears the title *La Segunda Imprenta de la Universidad de Córdoba* (Universidad Nacional de Córdoba).

A. L. Delle Piane has published as no. 5 of the *Publicaciones de Jurisprudencia Uruguaya* a booklet on the Monroe Doctrine (Montevideo).

No. 45 of the *Boletín* del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricos contains an article by José Torre Revello concerning the arts in La Plata during the colonial epoch, a contribution to the bibliography of Pablo Groussac, and a documented article by Juan Canter entitled *La Imprenta de les Niños Expositos en 1820 y 1821.* Bulletin no. 46 of this institute contains a sketch of penal law in Latin America, by L. Thót, and a bibliography of the late David Peña, by R. R. Caillet-Bois.

A second edition of a series of useful Brazilian historical studies, by Max Fleuiss, secretary of the Instituto Histórico Brasileiro, has been published (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional).

N. A. N. Cleven, of the University of Pittsburgh, has published a translation (Pittsburgh Printing Co.) of the treatise, by C. Parra-Pérez, entitled *Bolívar, Contribución al Estudio de sus Ideas Políticas* (Paris, 1928).

The growing interest in South American affairs has led to a third edition of *A History of South America,* by Charles Edmond Akers (New York, E. P. Dutton, pp. xxxii, 781, $5.00), originally reviewed here (X. 671–674). Supplementary sections have been added by L. E. Elliott, like Akers a London *Times* correspondent, to bring the treatment to the opening of 1930. If we recall how fateful for certain South American states that year was to be, a sentence in the closing paragraph on Argentina seems like an echo from a remote past: "At the opening of 1930 the political and economic horizon of Argentina is unclouded." That history made a forced march within the next twelve months does not much diminish the usefulness of this book.

W. S. R.

Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by: A. I. Andrews, G. C. Boyce, T. R. S. Broughton, Edmund C. Burnett, E. N. Curtis, Franklin Edgerton, J. F. Jameson, L. M. Larson, D. C. Munro, W. S. Robertson, L. F. Stock.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Founded in 1884 Chartered by Congress in 1889

Principal Office

40 B STREET, S. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.

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MEETINGS

An annual meeting is held in the last days of each year. The program of papers presented and the business meeting occupy three days. The average attendance exceeds 500.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences in connection with the annual meetings.

The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast. Full membership in the Association is maintained.

PUBLICATIONS

The *Annual Report,* covering the activities of the Association, and usually a supplementary volume of importance to students of history, is printed by virtue of an appropriation by Congress of $12,000 each fiscal year, and is sent to members who request it.

PUBLICATIONS—*Cont.* The *American Historical Review*, surveying the entire field of Ancient, Medieval, and Modern history, published quarterly, is sent free to all members.

PRIZES

The *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize*, of $200, is awarded for an essay in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere.

The *John H. Dunning Prize*, of $200, is awarded for an essay on a subject in the field of American history.

The *George Louis Beer Prize*, of $250, is awarded for the best work upon any phase of European international history since 1895.

The *Jean Jules Jusserand Medal* is offered annually for the best work on intellectual relations between America and one or more European countries.

DUES

The annual dues are $5; there is no initiation fee. The fee for life membership, $100, secures exemption from all annual dues.

CORRESPONDENCE

Inquiries respecting the Association should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary at 40 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.

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